# Dr. Burnet's

# PAPERS.

*THere have been ſo many Papers given out for mine, which are not, that in order to the preventing of Miſtakes of that kind, I have given Directions for the Publiſhing of this* COLLECTION, *which contains none but thoſe that were writ by me in ſingle Sheets, and are now put together by my Order.*

G. BURNET.

A

# COLLECTION

OF

# EIGHTEEN PAPERS,

Relating to the

# AFFAIRS

OF

# Church & State,

During the Reign of

King *JAMES* the Second.

(Seventeen whereof written in *Holland*, and first printed there.)

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

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# PAPERS,

RELATIVE TO THE

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# Church & State.

During the Reign of

KING JAMES the Second.

# THE CONTENTS. Of the following PAPERS.

*REasons against the repealing the Acts of Parliament concerning the Test: Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Members of both Houses, at their next Meeting, on the twenty eighth of* April, 1687. Pag. 1

*Some Reflections on His Majesties Proclamation of the Twelfth of* February, 168⅝. *for a Toleration in* Scotland: *Together with the said Proclamation,* p. 10

*A Letter containing some Reflections on His Majesties Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, dated the Fourth of* April, 1687. p. 25

*An Answer to Mr.* Henry Payne's *Letter concerning His Majesties Declaration of Indulgence, writ to the Author of the* Letter to a Dissenter, p. 38.

*An*

*An Answer to a Paper printed with allowance, entitled,* A New Test of the Church of *England's* Loyalty, p. 45

*The Earl of* Melfort's *Letter to the Presbyterian Ministers in* Scotland, *writ in His Majesties Name upon their Address: Together with some Remarks upon it.* p. 56

*Reflections on a Pamphlet, entitled,* Parliamentum Pacificum, *licensed by the Earl of* Sunderland, *and printed at* London *in* March, 1688. p. 65

*An Apology for the Church of* England, *with relation to the Spirit of Persecution, for which she is accused,* p. 83

*Some Extracts out of Mr.* James Stewart's *Letters, which were communicated to* Mijn Heer Fagal, *the States Pensioner of the Province of* Holland: *Together with some References to Master* Stewart's *printed Letter,* p. 97

*An Edict in the* Roman Law, *in the twenty fifth Book of the Digests, Title 4. Sect. 10. as concerning the visiting of a Big-bellied-Woman, and the looking after what may be born by her,* p. 100

*An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority, and of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their* Religion, Lives, *and* Liberties, p. 119

*A Review of the Reflections on the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration.* p. 133

*The Citation of* Gilbert Burnet, *D. D. to anſwer in* Scotland, *on the Twenty ſeventh of* June, *Old Stile, for* High Treaſon: *Together with his Anſwer: And* Three Letters *writ by him upon that Subject, to the Right Honourable the Earl of* Middletoun, *His Majeſty's Secretary of State.* p. 145

*Dr.* Burnet's *Vinication of himſelf from the Calumnies with which he is aſperſed in a Pamphlet, entitled,* Parliamentum Pacificum: *Licenſed by the Earl of* Sunderland, *and printed at* London *in* March, 1688. p. 172

*A* Letter *containing ſome* Remarks *on the* Two Papers *writ by His late Majeſty King* Charles the Second, *concerning* Religion. p. 188

*An* Enquiry *into the Reaſons for abrogating the* Teſt *impoſed on all Members of Parliament, offered by* Sa. Oxon. p. 200

*A Second Part of the* Enquiry *into the Reaſons offered by* Sa. Oxon *for abrogating the* Teſt: *Or an Anſwer to his Plea for* Tranſubſtantiation, *and for acquitting the Church of* Rome *of* Idolatry. p. 215

*A Continuation of the Second Part of the* Enquiry *into the Reaſons offered by* Sa. Oxon, *for the abrogating of the* Teſt, *relating to the* Idolatry *of the* Church *of* Rome. p. 229

REASONS

# REASONS

Againſt the Repealing the

# ACTS of PARLIAMENT

Concerning the

# TEST.

Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the MEMBERS of BOTH HOUSES, at their next Meeting, on the Twenty eighth of *April*, 1687.

I. IF the juſt Apprehenſions of the *Danger* of *Popery* gave the Birth to the *two Laws* for the *two Teſts*, the *one* with relation to all *Publick Employments* in 73. and the *other* with relation to the *Conſtitution* of our *Parliaments* for the future, in 78. the preſent Time and Conjuncture does not ſeem ſo proper for repealing them; unleſs it can be imagined, that the *danger of Popery* is now ſo much leſs than it was formerly, that we need be no more on our guard againſt it. We had a *King*, when theſe *Laws* were enacted, who as he declared himſelf to be of the *Church of England*, by receiving the *Sacrament* four times a *Year* in it, ſo in all his *Speeches* to his *Parliaments*, and in all his *Declarations* to his *Subjects*, he repeated the Aſſurances of his Firmneſs to the *Proteſtant Religion*, ſo ſolemnly and frequently, that if the ſaying a thing often gives juſt reaſon to believe it, we had as much reaſon as ever People had to depend upon him: and yet for all that, it was thought neceſſary to fortifie thoſe Aſſurances with *Laws*: and it is not eaſie

to imagine, why we ſhould throw away thoſe, when we have a *Prince* that is not only of another *Religion* himſelf, but that has expreſſed ſo much *ſteadineſs* in it, and ſo much *zeal* for it, that one would think we ſhould rather now ſeek a further *Security*, than throw away that which we already have.

II. *Our King* has given ſuch Teſtimonies of his *Zeal* for his *Religion*, that we ſee among all his other Royal Qualities, there is none for which he deſires and deſerves to be ſo much admired. Since even the Paſſion of *Glory*, of making himſelf the Terrour of all *Europe*, and the *Arbiter* of *Chriſtendom*, (which, as it is natural to all *Princes*, ſo muſt it be moſt particularly ſo to one of his Martial and Noble Temper) yields to his *Zeal* for his *Church*; and that he, in whom we might have hoped to ſee our *Edward* the Third, or our *Henry* the Fifth revived, chuſes rather to merit the heightning his degree of *Glory* in another World, than to acquire all the Lawrels and Conqueſts that this low and vile World can give him: and that, in ſtead of making himſelf a Terrour to all his Neighbours, he is contented with the *humble Glory* of being a Terrour to his own *People*; ſo that in ſtead of the great *Figure* which this *Reign* might make in the *World*, all the *News* of *England* is now only concerning the Practices on ſome fearful *Mercenaries*. Theſe things ſhew, that his Majeſty is ſo poſſeſſed with his Religion, that this cannot ſuffer us to think, that there is at preſent no danger from *Popery*.

III. It does not appear, by what we ſee, either *abroad* or at *home*, that *Popery* has ſo changed its nature, that we have leſs reaſon to be afraid of it at preſent, than we had in former times. It might be thought ill nature to go ſo far back, as to the *Councils of the Lateran*, that decreed *the Extirpation of Hereticks*, with ſevere Sanctions on thoſe *Princes* that failed in their Duty, of being the *Hangmen of the Inquiſitors*; or to the *Council of Conſtance*, that decreed, That *Princes were not bound to keep their Faith to Hereticks*; tho' it muſt be acknowledged, that we have extraordinary *Memories* if we can forget ſuch things, and more extraordinary *Underſtandings* if we do not make ſome Inferences from them. I will not ſtand upon ſuch inconſiderable Trifles as the *Gunpowder-Plot*, or the *Maſſacre of Ireland*; but I will take the liberty to reflect a little on what *that Church* has done ſince thoſe *Laws* were made, to give us kinder

kinder and ſofter thoughts of them, and to make us the leſs apprehenſive of them. We ſee before our eyes what they have done, and are ſtill doing in *France*; and what feeble things *Edicts*, *Coronation Oaths*, *Laws*, and *Promiſes*, repeated over and over again, prove to be, where that *Religion* prevails; and *Louis le Grand* makes not ſo contemptible a Figure in that *Church*, or in *our Court*, as to make us think, that *his Example* may not be propoſed as a *Pattern*, as well as his *Aid* may be offered for an *Encouragement*, to act the ſame things in *England*, that he is now doing with ſo much applauſe in *France*: and it may be perhaps the rather deſired from hence to put him a little in countenance, when ſo great a *King* as ours is willing to forget himſelf ſo far as to copy after him, and to depend upon him: ſo that as the *Doctrine* and *Principles* of that *Church* muſt be ſtill the ſame in all Ages and Places, ſince its chief pretention is, that it is *infallible*, it is no unreaſonable thing for us to be afraid of thoſe, who will be eaſily induced to *burn* us a little here, when they are told, that ſuch fervent *Zeal* will ſave them a more laſting *burning* hereafter, and will perhaps quit all ſcores ſo entirely, that they may hope ſcarce to endure a *Singing in Purgatory* for all their other Sins.

IV. If the ſevereſt *Order* of the *Church of Rome*, that has breathed out nothing but *Fire* and *Blood* ſince its firſt formation, and that is even decried at *Rome* it ſelf for its Violence, is in ſuch credit here; I do not ſee any inducement from thence to perſuade us to look on the *Councils* that are directed by that *Society*, as ſuch harmleſs and inoffenſive things, that we need be no more on our guard againſt them. I know not why we may not apprehend as much from *Father Petre*, as the *French* have felt from *Pere de la Chaiſe*, ſince all the difference that is obſerved to be between them, *is*, that the *Engliſh Jeſuit* has much more *Fire* and *Paſſion*, and much leſs *Conduct* and *Judgment* than the *French* has. And when *Rome* has expreſſed ſo great a Jealouſie of the *Intereſt* that that *Order* had in our *Councils*, that *F. Morgan*, who was thought to influence our *Ambaſſadour*, was ordered to leave *Rome*; I do not ſee why *England* ſhould look ſo tamely on them. No reaſon can be given why *Card. Howard* ſhould be ſhut out of all their *Councils*, unleſs it be, that the *Nobleneſs* of his Birth,

and the *Gentleneſs* of his Temper, are too hard even for his *Religion* and his *Purple*, to be maſtered by them. And it is a Contradiction, that nothing but a Belief capable of receiving *Tranſubſtantiation* can reconcile, to ſee Men pretend to obſerve *Law*, and yet to find at the ſame time an *Ambaſſadour* from *England* at *Rome*, when there are ſo many *Laws* in our *Book of Statutes*, never yet repealed, that have declared over and over again all Commerce with the *Court* and *See* of *Rome* to be *High Treaſon*.

V. The late famous *Judgment* of our *Judges*, who knowing no other way to make their *Names* immortal, have found an effectual one to preſerve them from being ever forgot, ſeems to call for another Method of Proceeding. The *Preſident* they have ſet muſt be fatal either to *them* or *us*. For if *twelve Men*, that get into *Scarlet* and *Furs*, have an *Authority* to diſſolve all our *Laws*, the *Engliſh Government* is to be hereafter lookt at with as much ſcorn, as it has hitherto drawn admiration. That doubtful Words of *Laws*, made ſo long ago, that the Intention of the *Lawgivers* is not certainly known, muſt be expounded by the *Judges*, is not to be queſtioned: but to infer from thence, that the plain Words of a *Law*, ſo lately made, and that was ſo vigorouſly aſſerted by the *preſent Parliament*, may be made *void* by a Deciſion of theirs, after ſo much Practice upon them, is juſt as reaſonable a way of arguing, as theirs is, who becauſe the *Church of England* acknowledges, that the *Church* has a Power in *Matters of Rites and Ceremonies*, will from thence conclude, that this Power muſt go ſo far, that tho' Chriſt has ſaid of the Cup, *Drink ye all of it*, we muſt obey the *Church* when ſhe decrees, that we ſhall not drink of it. *Our Judges*, for the greater part, were *Men* that had paſt their Lives in ſo much *Retirement*, that from thence one might have hoped, that they had ſtudied our *Law* well, ſince the *Bar* had called them ſo ſeldom from their *Studies*: and if *Practice* is thought often hurtful to Speculation, as that which diſorders and hurries the Judgment, they who had *practiſed* ſo little in our *Law*, had no byaſs on their Underſtandings: and if the habit of taking *Money* as a *Lawyer*, is a dangerous Preparation for one that is to be an *incorrupt Judge*, they ſhould have been *incorruptible*, ſince it is not thought, that the greater part of them got

got ever ſo much *Money* by their *Profeſſion*, as paid for their *Furs*. In ſhort, we now ſee how they have *merited* their *Preferment*, and they may yet expect a further *Exaltation*, when the Juſtice and the *Laws of England* come to be in Hands, that will be as careful to preſerve them, as *they* have been to deſtroy them. But what an Infamy will it lay upon the Name of an *Engliſh Parliament*, if inſtead of calling thoſe *Betrayers of their Country* to an account, they ſhould go by an after-game to confirm what theſe *Fellows* have done?

VI. The late *Conferences* with ſo many *Members* of *both Houſes*, will give ſuch an ill-natured piece of Jealouſie againſt them, that of all Perſons living, that are the moſt concern'd to take care how they give their *Votes*, the World will believe, that *Threatnings* and *Promiſes* had as large a ſhare in thoſe *ſecret Converſations*, as Reaſoning or Perſuaſion: and it muſt be a more than ordinary degree of Zeal and Courage in them, that muſt take off the Blot, of being *ſent for*, and *ſpoke to*, on ſuch a Subject, and in ſuch a manner. The worthy Behaviour of the *Members* in the *laſt Seſſion*, had made the *Nation* unwilling to remember the Errors committed in the *firſt Election*: and it is to be hoped, that they will not give any cauſe for the future to call that to mind. For if a *Parliament*, that had ſo many Flaws in its firſt Conception, goes to repeal *Laws*, that we are ſure were made by *Legal Parliaments*, it will put the *Nation* on an Enquiry that nothing but neceſſity will drive them to. For a *Nation* may be laid aſleep, and be a little cheated; but when it is awakened, and ſees its danger, it will not look on and ſee a *Rape* made on its *Religion* and *Liberties*, without examining, *From whence have theſe Men this Authority?* They will hardly find that it is *of Men*; and they will not believe that it is *of God*. But it is to be hoped, that there will be no occaſion given for this angry Queſtion, which is much eaſier made than anſwered.

VII. If all that were now asked in favour of *Popery*, were only ſome Gentleneſs towards the *Papiſts*, there were ſome reaſon to entertain the *Debate*, when the Demand were a little more modeſt: If Men were to be attainted of *Treaſon*, for being *reconciled* to the *Church of Rome*, or for *reconciling* others to it; If *Prieſts* were demanded to be *hanged*, for taking

king

king Orders in the *Church of Rome*; and if the *two thirds* of the *Papiſts Eſtates* were offered to be *levied*, it were a very natural thing to ſee them uneaſie and reſtleſs: but now the matter is more barefaced; they are not contented to live at eaſe, and enjoy their *Eſtates*; but they muſt carry all before them: and *F. Petre* cannot be at quiet, unleſs he makes as great a *Figure* in *our Court*, as *Pere de la Chaiſe* does at *Verſailles*.

A Ceſſation of all Severities againſt them, is that to which the *Nation* would more eaſily ſubmit; but it is their *Behaviour* that muſt create them the continuance of the like Compaſſion in another *Reign*. If a reſtleſs and a perſecuting *Spirit* were not inherent in that *Order*, that has now the *Aſcendant*, they would have behaved themſelves ſo decently under their preſent Advantages, as to have made *our Divines*, that have charged them ſo heavily, look a little out of countenance: and this would have wrought more on the good Nature of the *Nation*, and the *Princely Nobleneſs* of the *Succeſſors* whom we have in *view*, than thoſe *Arts* of *Craft* and *Violence*, to which we ſee their Tempers carry them even ſo early, before it is yet time to ſhew themſelves. The Temper of the *Engliſh Nation*, the Heroical Vertues of *thoſe* whom we have in our Eyes, but above all, our moſt holy *Religion*, which inſtead of Revenge and Cruelty, inſpires us with Charity and Mercy, even for Enemies, are all ſuch things, as may take from the Gentlemen of that *Religion* all ſad Apprehenſions, unleſs they raiſe a Storm againſt themſelves, and provoke the *Juſtice of the Nation* to ſuch a degree, that the *Succeſſors* may find it neceſſary to be *juſt*, even when their own Inclinations would rather carry them to *ſhew Mercy*. In ſhort, they need fear nothing but what they create to themſelves: ſo that all this ſtir that they keep for their own *Safety*, looks too like the ſecuring to themſelves *Pardons* for the *Crimes* that they intend to commit.

VIII. I know it is objected as no ſmall Prejudice againſt theſe *Laws*, That the very making of them diſcovered a particular Malignity againſt *His Majeſty*, and therefore it is *ill Manners* to ſpeak for them. The *firſt* had perhaps an Eye at his being then *Admiral*: and the *laſt* was poſſibly levelled at him: tho' when that was diſcovered, he was excepted

out

out of it by a ſpecial *Proviſo*. And as for that which paſt in 73, I hope it is not forgot, that it was enacted by that *Loyal Parliament*, that had ſetled both the *Prerogative* of the Crown and the Rites of the *Church*, and that had given the *King* more *Money* than all the *Parliaments of England* had ever done in all former Times. *A Parliament* that had indeed ſome Diſputes with the *King*, but upon the firſt Step that he made with relation to *Religion* or Safety, they ſhewed how ready they were to forget all that was paſt: as appeared by their Behaviour after the *Triple Alliance*. And in 73, tho' they had great cauſe given them to diſlike the *Dutch War*, eſpecially the ſtrange beginning of it upon the *Smyrna Fleet*; and the *ſtopping* the *Exchequer*, the *Declaration* for *Toleration*, and the *Writs* for the *Members* of the *Houſe*, were Matters of hard Digeſtion; yet no ſooner did the *King* give them this new Aſſurance for their *Religion* then, tho' they had very great Reaſons given them to be jealous of the *War*, yet ſince the *King* was engaged, they gave him 1200000 *Pounds* for carrying it on; and they thought they had no ill Peniworths for their *Money*, when they carried home with them to their *Countries* this new *Security* for their *Religion*, which we are deſired now to throw up, and which the Reverend *Judges* have already thrown out, as a *Law* out of date. If this had carried in it any new piece of *Severity*, their Complaints might be juſt; but they are extream tender, if they are ſo uneaſie under a *Law* that only gives them Leiſure and Opportunities to live at home. And the laſt *Teſt*, which was intended only for ſhutting them out from a ſhare in the *Legiſlative Body*, appears to be ſo juſt, that one is rather amaſed to find that it was ſo long a *doing*, than that it was *done* at laſt: and ſince it is *done*, it is a great preſumption on our Underſtandings to think, that we ſhould be willing to part with it. If it was not ſooner done, it was becauſe there was not ſuch cauſe given for Jealouſie to work upon: but what has appeared ſince that time, and what has been *printed* in his *late Majeſty's* Name, ſhews the World now, that the *Jealouſies* which occaſioned thoſe *Laws*, were not ſo ill grounded, as ſome well-meaning Men perhaps then believed them to be. But there are ſome Times in which all Mens Eyes come to be opened.

IX. I am told, ſome think it is very indecent to have a *Teſt* for our *Parliaments*, in which the *King's Religion* is accuſed of *Idolatry*; but if this Reaſon is good in this Particular, it will be full as good againſt ſeveral of the *Articles* of our *Church*, and many of the *Homilies*. If the *Church* and *Religion* of this *Nation* is ſo formed by *Law*, that the *King's Religion* is declared over and over again to be *Idolatrous*, what help is there for it? It is no other, than it was when His Majeſty was Crowned, and *Swore* to maintain our *Laws*.

I hope none will be wanting in all poſſible Reſpect to His Sacred Perſon; and as we ought to be infinitely ſorry to find him engaged in a *Religion* which we muſt believe *Idolatrous*, ſo we are far from the ill Manners of reflecting on his Perſon, or calling him an *Idolater*: for as every Man that reports a Lie, is not for that to be called a Liar; ſo tho' the ordering the Intention, and the prejudice of a Miſperſuaſion, are ſuch Abatements, that we will not raſhly take on us to call every Man of the *Church of Rome* an *Idolater*; yet on the other hand, we can never lay down our Charge againſt the *Church of Rome* as guilty of *Idolatry*, unleſs at the ſame time we part with our *Religion*.

X. Others give us a ſtrange ſort of *Argument*, to perſuade us to part with the *Teſt*; they ſay, *The King muſt imploy his Popiſh Subjects, for he can truſt no other; and he is ſo aſſured of their Fidelity to him, that we need apprehend no Danger from them.* This is an odd Method to work on us, to let in a ſort of People to the *Parliament* and *Government*, ſince the *King* cannot truſt *us*, but will depend on *them*: ſo that as ſoon as this *Law* is repealed, they muſt have all the Imployments, and have the whole Power of the *Nation* lodged in their *hands*; this ſeems a little too groſs to impoſe, even on *Iriſhmen*. The *King* ſaw for many Years together, with how much Zeal both the *Clergy*, and many of the *Gentry* appeared for his Intereſts; and if there is now a Melancholy Damp on their Spirits, the *King* can diſſipate it when he will; and as the *Church of England* is a Body that will never *rebel* againſt him, ſo any Sullenneſs, under which the late Adminiſtration of Affairs has brought them, would ſoon vaniſh, if the *King* would be pleaſed to remember a little what he has ſo often *promiſed*, not only in *Publick*, but in *Private*; and would

would be contented with the Exerciſe of his own *Religion*, without embroiling his whole Affairs, becauſe *F. Petre* will have it ſo: and it tempts *Engliſhmen* to more than ordinary degrees of *Rage*, againſt a ſort of *Men*, who it ſeems, can infuſe in a *Prince*, born with the higheſt ſenſe of Honour poſſible, Projects, to which, without doing ſome Violence to his own Royal Nature, he could not ſo much as hearken to, if his *Religion* did not ſo fatally muffle him up in a blind Obedience. But if we are ſo unhappy, that *Prieſts* can ſo diſguiſe Matters, as to miſlead a *Prince*, who without their ill Influences would be the moſt *Glorious Monarch* of all *Europe*, and would ſoon reduce the *Grand Louis* to a much humbler *Figure*; yet it is not to be ſo much as imagined, that ever their Arts can be ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, as to impoſe on an *Engliſh Parliament*, compoſed of *Proteſtant Members*.

# SOME REFLECTIONS On His MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION

## Of the Twelfth of *February*, 168$\frac{6}{7}$. for a TOLERATION in *Scotland*:

## Together with the ſaid PROCLAMATION.

I. THE Preamble of a *Proclamation* is oft writ in haſte, and is the Flouriſh of ſome wanton Pen: but one of ſuch an Extraordinary nature as *this is*, was probably more ſeverely examined; there is a new Deſignation of his *Majeſty's Authority* here ſet forth of his **Abſolute Power**, which is ſo often repeated, that it deſerves to be a little ſearched into. *Prerogative Royal* and *Sovereign Authority*, are Terms already received and known; but for this **Abſolute Power**, as it is a new Term, ſo thoſe who have coined it, may make it ſignifie what they will. The *Roman Law* ſpeaks of *Princeps Legibus ſolutus*, and *Abſolute* in its natural ſignification, importing the being without all Ties and Reſtraints; then the true meaning of this ſeems to be, that there is an *Inherent Power* in the *King*, which can neither be reſtrained by *Laws*, *Promiſes*, nor *Oaths*; for nothing leſs than the being *free* from all theſe renders a *Power Abſolute*.

II. If the former Term ſeemed to ſtretch our Allegiance, that which comes after it, is yet a ſtep of another nature, tho' one can hardly imagine what can go beyond **Abſolute Power**; and it is in theſe Words, **Which all our Subjects** are

**ute to obey without reserve.** And this is the carrying Obedience many sizes beyond what the *Grand Seigneur* has ever yet claimed: For all *Princes*, even the most violent Pretenders to **Absolute Power**, till *Lewis the Great's* Time, have thought it enough to oblige their *Subjects* to submit to their *Power*, and to bear whatsoever they thought good to impose upon them; but till the Days of the late *Conversions* by *Dragoons*, it was never so much as pretended, that *Subjects* were bound **to obey** *their Prince* **without Reserve**, and to be of his *Religion* because he would have it so. Which was the only Argument that those late *Apostles* made use of; so it is probable this Qualification of the Duty of *Subjects* was put in here, to prepare us for a terrible *le Roy le veut*; and in that case we are told here, that we must **obey without reserve**; and when those severe Orders come, the *Privy-Council*, and all such as execute this *Proclamation*, will be bound by this *Declaration* to shew themselves more forward than any others, **to obey without reserve**: and those poor Pretensions of *Conscience*, *Religion*, *Honour*, and *Reason*, will be then reckoned as **Reserves** *upon their Obedience*, which are all now shut out.

III. These being the Grounds upon which this *Proclamation* is founded, we ought not only to consider what Consequences are now drawn from them, but what may be drawn from them at any time hereafter: for if they are of force to justifie that which is now inferred from them, it will be full as just to draw from the same Premises an Abolition of the *Protestant Religion*, of the Rights of the *Subjects*, not only to *Church-lands*, but to all *Property* whatsoever. In a word, it asserts a *Power* to be in the *King*, to command what he will; and an Obligation in the *Subjects*, to *obey* whatsoever he shall *command*.

IV. There is also mention made in the Preamble, of the **Christian Love and Charity** which his *Majesty* would have established among *Neighbours*; but another dash of a Pen, founded on this **Absolute Power**, may declare us all *Heretick*s; and then in wonderful Charity to us, we must be told, that we are either *to obey without Reserve*, or to be *burnt without Reserve*. We know the *Charity* of that *Church* pretty well: It is indeed *Fervent* and *Burning*; and if we have forgot what has been done in former Ages, *France*, *Savoy*, and *Hungary*,

have set before our Eyes very fresh Instances of the *Charity* of that *Religion*: While those Examples are so green, it is a little too imposing on us, to talk to us of **Christian Love and Charity**. No doubt his *Majesty* means sincerely, and his Exactness to all his *Promises*, chiefly to those made since he came to the *Crown*, will not suffer us to think an unbecoming Thought of his Royal Intentions; but yet after all, tho' it seems by this *Proclamation*, that we are bound to **obey without Reserve**, it is Hardship upon Hardship to be bound to *Believe without Reserve*.

V. There are a sort of People here tolerated, that will be very hardly found out: and these are the *Moderate Presbyterians*. Now, as some say, that there are very few of those People in *Scotland*, that deserve this Character, so it is hard to tell what it amounts to; and the calling any of them *Immoderate*, cuts off all their share in this Grace. *Moderation* is a Quality that lies in the Mind; and how this will be found out, I cannot so readily guess. If a Standard had been given of Opinions or Practices, then one could have known how this might have been distinguished; but as it lies, it will not be easie to make the Discrimination; and the declaring them all *Immoderate*, shuts them out quite.

VI. Another Foundation laid down for Repealing all *Laws* made against the *Papists*, is, That they were enacted in *King James the Sixth*'s Minority; with some harsh Expressions, that are not to be insisted on, since they shew more the Heat of the Penner, than the Dignity of the Prince, in whose Name they are given out; but all these *Laws* were ratified over and over again by *King James*, when he came to be of full Age: and they have received many Confirmations by *King Charles the First*, and *King Charles the Second*, as well as by his *present Majesty*, both when he represented his *Brother* in the Year 1681. and since *He* himself came to the *Crown*, so that whatsoever may be said concerning the first Formation of those *Laws*, they have received now for the course of a whole hundred *Years*, that are lapsed since *King James* was of full Age, so many Confirmations, that if there is any thing certain in Humane Government, we might depend upon them; but this new coined **Absolute Power** must carry all before it.

VII. It

VII. It is alſo well known, that the whole Settlement of the *Church-Lands* and *Tythes*, with many other things, and more particularly the Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant Religion*, was likewiſe enacted in *King James*'s Minority, as well as thoſe *Penal Laws*: ſo that the Reaſon now made uſe of to annul the *Penal Laws*, will ſerve full as well for another Act of this Abſolute Power, that ſhall aboliſh all thoſe; and if Maxims that unhinge all the Securities of Humane Society, and all that is ſacred in Government, ought to be look'd on with the juſteſt and deepeſt Prejudices poſſible, one is tempted to loſe the Reſpect that is due to every thing that carries a Royal Stamp upon it, when he ſees ſuch Grounds made uſe of, as muſt ſhake all Settlements whatſoever: For if a Preſcription of 120 *Years*, and Confirmations reiterated over and over again theſe 100 *Years* paſt, do not purge ſome Defects in the firſt Formation of thoſe *Laws*, what can make us ſecure? But this looks ſo like a Fetch of the *French Prerogative Law*, both in their Proceſſes with relation to the *Edict of Nantes*, and thoſe concerning *Dependences* at *Metz*, that this ſeems to be a Copy from that famous Original.

VIII. It were too much ill Nature to look into the Hiſtory of the laſt Age, to examine on what Grounds thoſe Characters of Pious and Bleſſed, given to the *Memory* of *Q. Mary*, are built; but ſince *King James*'s *Memory* has the Character of Glorious given to it, if the Civility due to the *Fair Sex* makes one unwilling to look into the one, yet the other may be a little dwelt on. The peculiar *Glory* that belongs to *King James*'s *Memory*, is, that he was a Prince of great Learning, and that he employed it chiefly in writing for *Religion*: Of the *Volume* in *Folio*, in which we have his *Works*, two thirds are againſt the *Church of Rome*; one part of them is a Commentary on the *Revelation*, proving that the *Pope is Antichriſt*; another part of them belonged more naturally to his Poſt and Dignity; which is the Warning that he gave to all the Princes and States of *Europe*, againſt the Treaſonable and Bloody Doctrines of the *Papacy*. The firſt Act he did when he came of Age, was to ſwear in Perſon with all his Family, and afterwards with all his People of *Scotland*, a *Covenant*, containing an Enumeration of all the *Points* of *Popery*, and a moſt ſolemn Renunciation of them, ſomewhat like

like our *Parliament Test*. His *first Speech* to the *Parliament of England*, was Copious on the same Subject; and he left a *Legacy* of a *Wish* on such of his *Posterity* as should go over to that *Religion*, which in good manners is suppressed. It is known, *King James* was no *Conqueror*, and that he made more use of his *Pen* than his *Sword*: so the *Glory* that is peculiar to his *Memory* must fall chiefly on his Learned and Immortal Writings: and since there is such a Veneration expressed for him, it agrees not ill with this. to wish, that his *Works* were more studied by those who offer such Incense to his Glorious *Memory*.

IX. His *Majesty* assures his People of *Scotland*, upon his *certain Knowledge*, and *long Experience*, that the *Catholicks*, as they are *good Christians*, *so they are likewise dutiful Subjects*: But if we must believe both these equally, then we must conclude severely against their being *good Christians*; for we are sure they can never be *good Subjects*, not only to a *Heretical Prince*, but even to a *Catholick Prince*, if he does not *extirpate Hereticks*; for their beloved *Council of the Lateran*, that decreed *Transubstantiation*, has likewise decreed, *That if a Prince does not extirpate Hereticks out of his Dominions, the Pope must depose him, and declare his Subjects absolved from their Allegiance, and give his Dominions to another*. So that even his *Majesty*, how much soever he may be a Zealous *Catholick*, yet cannot be assured of their Fidelity to him, unless he has given them secret Assurances, that he is resolved to *extirpate Hereticks out of his Dominions*; and that all the Promises which he now makes to these poor Wretches, are no other way to be kept, than the Assurances which the *Great Lewis* gave to his *Protestant Subjects*, of his observing still the *Edict of Nantes*, even after he had resolved to break it; and also his last Promise made in the *Edict* that repealed the *Edict of Nantes*, by which he gave Assurances, that no Violence should be used to any for their *Religion*, in the very time that he was ordering all possible Violences to be put in execution against them.

X. His *Majesty* assures us, that on all occasions the *Papists* have shewed themselves *good and faithful Subjects to him and his Royal Predecessors*; but how Absolute soever the King's Power may be, it seems his Knowledge of History is not so *Absolute*, but it may be capable of some Improvement. It will

will be hard to find out what *Loyalty* they ſhewed on the *occaſion* of the *Gunpowder Plot*, or during the whole Progreſs of the *Rebellion of Ireland*; if the King will either take the Words of *King James* of Glorious *Memory*, or *King Charles* the Firſt, that was indeed of Pious *and* Bleſſed *Memory*, rather than the Word of the Penners of this *Proclamation*, it will not be hard to find *occaſions* where they were a little wanting in this their ſo much boaſted *Loyalty*: and we are ſure, that by the Principles of that *Religion*, the *King* can never be aſſured of the *Fidelity* of thoſe he calls his *Catholick Subjects*, but by engaging to them to make his *Heretical Subjects* Sacrifices to their Rage.

XI. The *King* declares them capable of all the Offices and Benefices which he ſhall think fit to beſtow on them, and only reſtrains them from *invading the Proteſtant Churches by force*: ſo that here a Door is plainly opened for admitting them to the Exerciſe of their *Religion* in *Proteſtant Churches*, ſo they do not break into them by *force*; and whatſoever may be the ſenſe of the Term Benefice in its ancient and firſt ſignification, now it ſtands only for *Church Preferments*; ſo that when any *Churches*, that are at the *King's* Gift, fall vacant, here is a plain intimation, that they are to be provided to them: and then it is very probable, that all the *Laws* made againſt ſuch as go not to their *Pariſh-Churches*, will be ſeverely turned upon thoſe that will not come to *Maſs*.

XII. His *Majeſty* does in the next place, in the vertue of his Abſolute Power, annul a great many *Laws*, as well thoſe that eſtabliſhed the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, as the late *Teſt*, enacted by himſelf in Perſon, while he repreſented his Brother: upon which he gave as ſtrange an Eſſay to the World of his *Abſolute Juſtice* in the Attainder of the late Earl of *Argile*, as he does now of his Abſolute Power in condemning the *Teſt* it ſelf; he alſo repeals his own Confirmation of the *Teſt*, ſince he came to the *Crown*, which he offered as the cleareſt Evidence that he could give of his Reſolution to maintain the *Proteſtant Religion*, and by which he gained ſo much upon that *Parliament*, that he obtained every thing from them that he deſired of them, till he came to try them in the Matters of *Religion*. This is no extraordinary Evidence to aſſure his People, that his *Promiſes* will be like

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the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, *which alter not*; nor will the disgrace of the *Commissioner* that enacted that *Law*, lay this Matter wholly on him; for the *Letter* that he brought, the *Speech* that he made, and the *Instructions* which he got, are all too well known, to be so soon forgotten; and if *Princes* will give their *Subjects* reason to think, that they forget their *Promises*, as soon as the Turn is served for which they were made, this will be too prevailing a Temptation to the *Subjects* to mind the Princes *Promise* as little as it seems he himself does; and will force them to conclude, that the *Truth* of the Prince is not so *Absolute* as it seems he fancies his *Power* to be.

XIII. Here is not only a Repealing of a great many *Laws*, and established *Oaths* and *Tests*; but by the exercise of the **Absolute Power**, a new *Oath* is imposed, which was never pretended to by the *Crown* in any former time; and as the *Oath* is created by this **Absolute Power**, so it seems the **Absolute Power** must be supported by this *Oath*: since one Branch of it is an Obligation to *maintain his Majesty and his lawful Successors in the exercise of this their* **Absolute Power** *and Authority, against all Deadly*, which I suppose is *Scotch* for *Mortals*. Now to impose so hard a Yoke as this **Absolute Power** on the *Subjects*, seems no small stretch; but it is a wonderful *Exercise* of it, to oblige the *Subjects* to *defend* this: it had been more modest, if they had been only bound to bear it, and submit to it: but it is a terrible thing so far to extinguish all the Remnants of Natural Liberty, or of a Legal Government, as to oblige the *Subjects* by *Oath* to *maintain the Exercise of this*, which plainly must destroy themselves: For the short Execution by the Bow-strings of *Turkey*, or by sending *Orders* to Men to return in their Heads, being an *Exercise of this* **Absolute Power**, it is a little hard to make Men swear to *maintain the King in it*: and if that *Kingdom* has suffered so much by the many *Oaths* that have been in use among them, as is marked in this *Proclamation*, I am afraid this new *Oath* will not much mend the matter.

XIV. Yet after all, there is some Comfort; his Majesty assures them, he will use no *Violence* nor *Force*, nor any **Invincible Necessity** *to any Man upon the account of his Persuasion*. It were too great a want of Respect to fancy, that a time may come

come in which even this may be remembred, full as well, as the *Promiſes* that were made to the *Parliament* after His Majeſty came to the *Crown*. I do not, I confeſs, apprehend that; for I ſee here ſo great a Caution uſed in the choice of theſe Words, that it is plain, very great Severities may very well conſiſt with them. It is clear, that the general Words of *Violence* and *Force*, are to be determined by theſe laſt of **Invincible Neceſſity**; ſo that the *King* does only *promiſe* to lay no **Invincible Neceſſity** on his *Subjects*; but for all *Neceſſities* that are not *Invincible*, it ſeems they muſt expect to bear a large ſhare of them; Diſgraces, want of Employments, Fines, and Impriſonments, and even Death it ſelf, are all *Vincible* things to a Man of firmneſs of Mind; ſo that the *Violences of Torture*, the *Furies of Dragoons*, and ſome of the *Methods* now practiſed in *France*, perhaps may be included within this *Promiſe*; ſince theſe ſeem almoſt **Invincible** to Humane Nature, if it is not fortified with an extraordinary meaſure of Grace: but as to all other things, His Majeſty binds himſelf up from no part of *the Exerciſe of his* **Abſolute Power** by this Promiſe.

XV. His *Majeſty* orders this to go immediately to the *Great Seal*, without paſſing thro' the other *Seals*: Now ſince this is counter-ſigned by the *Secretary*, in whoſe Hands the *Signet* is, there was no other ſtep to be made but thro' the *Privy Seal*; ſo I muſt own, I have a great curioſity of knowing his Character in whoſe Hands the *Privy Seal* is at preſent; for it ſeems his Conſcience is not ſo very ſupple, as the *Chancellor*'s and the *Secretaries* are; but it is very likely, if he does not quickly change his Mind, the *Privy Seal* at leaſt will very quickly change its *Keeper*; and I am ſorry to hear, that the *Lord Chancellor* and the *Secretary* have not another Brother to fill this Poſt, that ſo the Guilt of the Ruine of that *Nation* may lie on one ſingle *Family*, and that there may be no others involved in it.

XVI. Upon the whole matter, many ſmaller things being waved, it being extream unpleaſant to find fault, where one has all poſſible diſpoſitions to pay all Reſpect; we here in *England* ſee what we muſt look for. A *Parliament* in *Scotland* was tried, but it proved a little ſtubborn; and now **Abſolute Power** comes to ſet all right; ſo when the *Cloſetting*

has gone round, so that *Noses* are counted, we may perhaps see a *Parliament* here; but if it chances to be untoward, and not to **obey without Reserve**, then our Reverend *Judges* will copy from *Scotland*, and will not only tell us of the King's *Imperial Power*, but will discover to us this new Mystery of **Absolute Power**, *to which we are all bound* **to obey without Reserve.**

*These* Reflections *refer in so many Places to* some Words *in the* Proclamation, *that it was thought necessary to set them near one another, that the* Reader *may be able to judge, whether he is deceived by any false* Quotations, *or not.*

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BY THE

# KING,

A

# PROCLAMATION.

*JAMES* R.

*JAMES the Seventh* by the Grace of God, *King* of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all and sundry our good Subjects, whom these Presents do or may concern, *Greeting.* We having taken into Our Royal Consideration the many and great Inconveniencies which have hapned to that Our Ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* of late Years, through *the different Persuasions in the Christian Religion*, and the great Heats and Animosities amongst the several *Professors* thereof, to the ruine and decay of Trade, walking of Lands, extinguishing of Charity, contempt of the Royal Power, and converting of true Religion, and the Fear of GOD, into Animosities, Names, Factions

Factions, and ſometimes into Sacriledge and Treaſon. And being reſolved as much as in us lies, to unite the Hearts and Affections of Our Subjects, to GOD in *Religion*, to Us in *Loyalty*, and to their Neighbours in Chriſtian Love and Charity; Have therefore thought fit to Grant, and by Our *Sovereign Authority*, *Prerogative Royal*, and Abſolute Power, which all Our Subjects are to obey without Reſerve, do hereby give and grant Our *Royal Toleration*, to the ſeveral *Profeſſors* of the *Chriſtian Religion* after-named, with, and under the ſeveral Conditions, Reſtrictions, and Limitations after mentioned. In the firſt place, We allow and tolerate the *Moderate Presbyterians*, to Meet in their *Private Houſes*, and there to hear all ſuch *Miniſters*, as either have, or are willing to accept of Our *Indulgence* allanerly, and none other; and that there be not any thing ſaid or done contrary to the Well and Peace of Our Reign, Seditious or Treaſonable, under the higheſt Pains theſe Crimes will import; nor are they to preſume to Build Meeting-Houſes, or to uſe Out-Houſes or Barns, but only to exerciſe in their Private Houſes, as ſaid is: In the mean time, it is Our Royal Will and Pleaſure, that *Field-Conventicles*, and ſuch as Preach or Exerciſe at them, or who ſhall any ways aſſiſt or connive at them, ſhall be proſecuted according to the utmoſt Severity of our *Laws* made againſt them, ſeeing from theſe Rendezvouſes of Rebellion, ſo much Diſorder hath proceeded, and ſo much Diſturbance to the Government, and for which, after this Our Royal Indulgence for Tender Conſciences, there is no Excuſe left. In like manner, We do hereby tolerate *Quakers* to meet and exerciſe in their *Form*, in any Place or Places appointed for their Worſhip. And conſidering the Severe and Cruel *Laws* made againſt *Roman Catholicks* (therein called *Papiſts*) in the Minority of Our Royal Grandfather of Glorious *Memory*, without His Conſent, and contrary to the Duty of good Subjects, by His Regents, and other Enemies to their Lawful Sovereign, Our Royal Great Grandmother Queen *Mary* of Bleſſed and Pious Memory, wherein, under the pretence of Religion, they cloathed the worſt of Treaſons, Factions, and Uſurpations, and made theſe *Laws*, not as againſt the Enemies of GOD, but their own; which *Laws* have ſtill been continued of courſe without de-

ſign of executing them, or any of them *ad terrorem* only, on Suppoſition, that the *Papiſts* relying on an External Power, were incapable of Duty, and true Allegiance to their Natural Soveraigns, and Rightful Monarchs; We of Our certain Knowledge, and long Experience, knowing that the *Catholicks*, as it is their Principle to be *Good Chriſtians*, ſo it is to be Dutiful Subjects; and that they have likewiſe on all occaſions ſhewn themſelves Good and faithful Subjects to Us, and Our Royal Predeceſſors, by hazarding, and many of them actually loſing their Lives and Fortunes, in their defence (though of another Religion) and the Maintenance of their Authority againſt the Violences and Treaſons of the moſt violent Abettors of theſe *Laws*: Do therefore with Advice and Conſent of Our *Privy Council*, by our *Soveraign Authority*, *Prerogative Royal*, and **Abſolute Power**, aforeſaid, ſuſpend, ſtop and diſable all *Laws*, or *Acts of Parliament*, Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions, made or executed againſt any of our *Roman-Catholick Subjects*, in any time paſt, to all Intents and Purpoſes, making void all Prohibitions therein mentioned, Pains or Penalties therein ordained to be inflicted; ſo that they ſhall in all things be as free in all Reſpects as any of Our *Proteſtant Subjects* whatſoever, not only to exerciſe their *Religion*, but to enjoy all *Offices*, **Benefices** and *others*, which we ſhall think fit to beſtow upon them in all time coming: Nevertheleſs, it is Our Will and Pleaſure, and we do hereby command all *Catholicks* at their higheſt pains, only to exerciſe their *Religious Worſhip* in Houſes or Chappels; and that they preſume not to Preach in the open Fields, or to invade the *Proteſtant Churches* by *force*, under the pains aforeſaid, to be inflicted upon the Offenders reſpectively; nor ſhall they preſume to make *Publick Proceſſions* in the *High-ſtreets* of any of Our Royal *Burghs*, under the Pains above mentioned. And whereas the Obedience and Service of Our Good Subjects is due to Us by their Allegiance, and Our Soveraignty, and that no Law, Cuſtom or Conſtitution, Difference in Religion, or other Impediment whatſoever, can exempt or diſcharge the Subjects from their Native Obligations and Duty to the Crown, or hinder Us from Protecting, and Employing them, according to their ſeveral Capacities, and Our Royal Pleaſure; nor Reſtrain Us from Conferring Heretable Rights and Priviledges upon them,

them, or vacuate or annul theſe Rights Heretable, when they are made or conferred: And likewiſe conſidering, that ſome *Oaths* are capable of being wreſted by Men of miniſtrous Intentions, a practice in that Kingdom fatal to Religion as it was to Loyalty; Do therefore, with Advice and Conſent aforeſaid, *caſs*, *annull* and *Diſcharge* all Oaths whatſoever, by which any of Our Subjects are incapacitated, or diſabled from holding Places, or Offices in Our ſaid Kingdom, or enjoying their Hereditary Rights and Priviledges, diſcharging the ſame to be taken or given in any time coming, without our ſpecial Warrant and Conſent, under the pains due to the Contempt of Our Royal Commands and Authority. And to this effect, we do by Our Royal Authority aforeſaid, *Stop*, *diſable*, and *diſpenſe* with all Laws enjoyning the ſaid Oaths, Teſts, or any of them, particularly the firſt Act of the firſt Seſſion of the firſt Parliament of *King Charles the Second*; the eleventh Act of the foreſaid Seſſion of the foreſaid Parliament; the ſixth Act of the third Parliament of the ſaid King *Charles*; the twenty firſt and twenty fifth Acts of that Parliament, and the thirteenth Act of the firſt Seſſion of *Our late Parliament*, in ſo far allanerly as concerns the taking the *Oaths*, or *Teſts* therein preſcribed, and all others, as well not mentioned, as mentioned, and that in place of them, all Our good *Subjects*, or ſuch of them as *We* or Our *Privy Council* ſhall require ſo to do, ſhall take and ſwear the following *Oath* allanerly. *I A. B.* do acknowledge, teſtifie and declare, that JAMES *the Seventh, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c*, is rightful King, and Supream Governour of theſe Realms, and over all Perſons therein; and that it is unlawful for Subjects, on any pretence, or for any cauſe whatſoever, to riſe in Arms againſt Him, or any Commiſſionated by Him, and that I ſhall never ſo riſe in Arms, nor aſſiſt any who ſhall ſo do; and that I ſhall never reſiſt His Power or Authority, nor ever oppoſe his Authority to his Perſon, as I ſhall anſwer to God; but ſhall to the utmoſt of my Power Aſſiſt, Defend, and Maintain Him, His Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, in the exercife of their ABSOLUTE POWER and Authority againſt all

all Deadly. *So help me God.* And seeing many of Our good Subjects have, before Our Pleasure in these Matters was made publick, incurred the Guilt appointed by the *Acts of Parliament* above-mentioned, or others; We, by Our Authority, and Absolute Power and *Prerogative Royal* above-mentioned, of Our certain Knowledge, and innate Mercy, Give Our ample and full *Indemnity* to all those of the *Roman Catholick* or *Popish Religion*, for all things by them done contrary to Our *Laws* or *Acts of Parliament*, made in any time past, relating to their *Religion*, the Worship and Exercise thereof, or for being *Papists*, *Jesuits*, or *Traffickers*, for hearing or saying of *Mass*, concealing of Priests or Jesuits, breeding their Children Catholicks at home or abroad, or any other thing, Rite or Doctrine, said, performed, or maintained by them, or any of them: And likewise, for holding or taking of Places, Employments, or Offices, contrary to any Law or Constitution, Advices given to Us, or Our Council, Actions done, or generally any thing performed or said against the known *Laws* of that Our Ancient Kingdom: Excepting always from this Our Royal Indemnity, all Murders, Assassinations, Thefts, and such like other Crimes, which never used to be comprehended in Our General *Acts of Indemnity.* And we command and require all Our Judges, or others concerned, to explain this in the most Ample Sense and Meaning Acts of *Indemnity* at any time have contained: Declaring this shall be as good to every one concerned, as if they had Our Royal *Pardon* and *Remission* under Our *Great Seal* of that *Kingdom.* And likewise indemnifying Our *Protestant Subjects* from all Pains and Penalties due for hearing or Preaching in Houses; Providing there be no Treasonable Speeches uttered in the said Conventicles by them, in which case the Law is only to take place against the Guilty, and none other present; Providing also that they Reveal to any of our *Council* the Guilt so committed; As also, excepting all Fines, or Effects of Sentences already given. And likewise indemnifying fully and freely all *Quakers*, for their Meetings and Worship,

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in all time paſt, preceding the Publication of theſe Preſents. And we doubt not but Our *Proteſtant Subjects* will give their Aſſiſtance and Concourſe hereunto, on all occaſions, in their reſpective Capacities. In conſideration whereof, and the eaſe thoſe of Our *Religion*, and others may have hereby, and for the Encouragement of Our Proteſtant *Biſhops*, and the Regular *Clergy*, and ſuch as have hitherto lived orderly, We think fit to declare, that it never was Our Principle, nor will We ever ſuffer violence to be offered to any Mans Conſcience, nor will We uſe force, or **Invincible Neceſſity** againſt any Man on the Account of his *Perſwaſion*, nor the *Proteſtant Religion*, but will protect Our *Biſhops* and other *Miniſters* in their Functions, Rights, and Properties, and all Our *Proteſtant Subjects* in the free Exerciſe of their *Proteſtant Religion* in the *Churches*. And that We will, and hereby Promiſe, on Our Royal Word, to maintain the Poſſeſſors of *Church Lands* formerly belonging to *Abbeys*, or other Churches of the *Catholick Religion*, in their full and free Poſſeſſion and Right according to Our *Laws* and *Acts* of *Parliament* in that behalf in all time coming. And We will employ indifferently all our Subjects of all Perſwaſions, ſo as none ſhall meet with any Diſcouragement, on the account of his *Religion*, but be advanced, and eſteemed by Us, according to their ſeveral Capacities and Qualifications, ſo long as we find Charity and Unity maintained. And if any Animoſities ſhall ariſe, as We hope in God there will not, We will ſhew the ſevereſt Effects of Our Royal Diſpleaſure againſt the Beginners or Fomenters thereof, ſeeing thereby Our *Subjects* may be deprived of this general Eaſe and Satisfaction, We intend to all of them, whoſe Happineſs, Proſperity, Wealth and Safety, is ſo much Our Royal Care, that we will leave nothing undone which may procure theſe Bleſſings for them. And laſtly, to the End all Our good *Subjects* may have Notice of this Our Royal Will and Pleaſure, we do hereby command Our *Lyon* King at Arms, and his Brethren Heraulds, Macers, Purſevants and Meſſengers at Arms, to make

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timous *Proclamation* thereof at the Mercat Croſs of *Edinburgh*; And beſides the Printing and Publiſhing of this Our Royal Proclamation, it is Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure, that the ſame *be paſt under the great Seal of that* ☞ *Our Kingdom per ſaltum*, without paſſing any other Seal or Regiſter. In Order whereunto, this ſhall be to the *Directors* of Our Chancellary, and their Deputies for writing the ſame, and to Our *Chancellor* for cauſing Our *Great Seal* aforeſaid, to be appended thereunto, a ſufficient Warrand.

*Given at Our Court at Whitehal the twelfth day of Febr.* 168⅞. *And of Our Reign the third year.*

By His Majeſties Command.

MELFORT.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

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A LET-

# A LETTER

Containing ſome

# REFLECTIONS

On His MAJESTY's

# DECLARATION

FOR

# LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE.

Dated the Fourth of *April*, 1687.

*SIR*,

I Thank you for the Favour of ſending me the late *Declaration* that His *Majeſty* has granted for *Liberty of Conſcience*. I confeſs, I longed for it with great Impatience, and was ſurpriſed to find it ſo different from the *Scotch* Pattern; for I imagined, that it was to be ſet to the Second Part of the ſame Tune: nor can I ſee why the Penners of this have ſunk ſo much in their Style; for I ſuppoſe the ſame Men penned both. I expected to have ſeen the Imperial Language of *Abſolute Power, to which all the Subjects are to obey without Reſerve*; *and of the caſſing, annulling, the ſtopping, and diſabling of Laws* ſet forth in the Preamble and Body of this *Declaration*; whereas thoſe dreadful Words are not to be found here: for in ſtead of *repealing the Laws*, His *Majeſty* pretends by this only to *ſuſpend them*; and tho' in effect this amounts to a *Repeal*, yet

it must be confessed that the Words are softer. Now since the *Absolute Power*, to which His *Majesty* pretends in *Scotland*, is not founded on such poor things as *Law*; for that would look as if it were the Gift of the *People*; but on the Divine Authority, which is supposed to be delegated to His *Majesty*, this may be as well claimed in *England*, as it was in *Scotland*: and the pretension to *Absolute Power* is so great a thing, that since His *Majesty* thought fit once to claim it, he is little beholden to those that make him fall so much in his Language; especially since both these *Declarations* have appeared in our *Gazettes*; so that as we see what is done in *Scotland*, we know from hence what is in some Peoples Hearts, and what we may expect in *England*.

II. His *Majesty* tells his People, that *the perfect Enjoyment of their Property has never been in any Case invaded by him since his coming to the Crown.* This is indeed matter of great Encouragement to all good *Subjects*; for it lets them see, that such Invasions as have been made on *Property*, have been done without His *Majesty*'s knowledge: so that no doubt the continuing to levy the *Customs* and the *Additional Excise* (which had been granted only during the late *King*'s Life) before the *Parliament* could meet to renew the Grant, was done without His *Majesty*'s knowledge; the many Violences committed not only by *Soldiers*, but *Officers*, in all the *Parts* of *England*, which are severe Invasions on *Property*, have been all without his *Majesty*'s knowledge; and since the first Branch of *Property* is the Right that a Man has to his *Life*, the strange Essay of *Mahometan Government* that was shewed at *Taunton*; and the no less strange Proceedings of the present *Lord Chancellor*, in his *Circuit* after the *Rebellion*, (which are very justly called *His Campagne*, for it was an open Act of Hostility to all *Law*) and for which, and other Services of the like nature, it is believed he has had the Reward of the *Great Seal*, and the *Executions* of those who have left their *Colours*, which being founded on no *Law*, are no other than so many *Murders*; all these, I say, are as we are sure, Invasions on *Property*: But since the *King* tells us, that no such *Invasions* have been made since he came to the *Crown*, we must conclude, that all these things have fallen out without his Privity. And if a Standing *Army*, in time of Peace, has

has been ever look'd on by this *Nation* as an Attempt upon the whole *Property* of the *Nation* in groſs, one muſt conclude, that even this is done without His *Majeſty*'s knowledge.

III. His *Majeſty* expreſſes his Charity for us in a kind Wiſh, *That we were all Members of the Catholick Church*: In return to which, we offer up daily our moſt earneſt Prayers for him, That he may become a Member of the *truly Catholick Church*; for Wiſhes and Prayers do no hurt on no ſide: But His *Majeſty* adds, That *it has ever been his Opinion, that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of meer Religion.* We are very happy, if this continues to be always his Senſe; but we are ſure in this he is no obedient *Member* of that which he means by the *Catholick Church*: for it has over and over again decreed the *Extirpation of Hereticks*: It encourages *Princes* to it, by the Offer of the Pardon of their Sins; it threatens them to it, by denouncing to them not only the Judgments of God, but that which is more ſenſible, the loſs of their *Dominions*: and it ſeems they intend to make us know that part of their Doctrine, even before we come to feel it, ſince tho' ſome of that Communion would take away the Horror which the Fourth *Council* of the *Lateran* gives us, in which theſe things were decreed, by denying it to be a *General Council*, and rejecting the Authority of thoſe *Canons*; yea the moſt learned of all the *Apoſtates* that has fallen to them from our *Church*, has ſo lately given up this Plea, and has ſo formally acknowledged the Authority of that *Council*, and of its *Canons*, that it ſeems they think they are bound to this piece of fair dealing, of warning us before-hand of our Danger. It is true, *Bellarmin* ſays, *The Church does not always execute her Power of Depoſing Heretical Princes, tho' ſhe always retains it*: one Reaſon that he aſſigns, is, *Becauſe ſhe is not at all times able to put it in execution*: ſo the ſame Reaſon may perhaps make it appear unadviſable to *extirpate Hereticks*, becauſe that at preſent it connot be done; but the *Right* remains entire, and is put in execution in ſuch an unrelenting manner in all Places where that *Religion* prevails, that it has a very ill Grace, to ſee any *Member* of that *Church* ſpeak in this ſtrain: and when neither the *Policy* of *France*, nor the Greatneſs of their *Monarch*, nor yet the Intereſts of the *Em-*

*perour* joined to the Gentleneſs of his own Temper, could withſtand theſe Bloody Councils, that are indeed parts of that *Religion*, we can ſee no Reaſon to induce us to believe, that a *Toleration of Religion* is propoſed with any other Deſign, but either to divide us, or to lay us aſleep, till it is time to give the Alarm for deſtroying us.

IV. If all the *Endeavours that have been uſed in the laſt four Reigns, for bringing the Subjects of this Kingdom to a Unity in Religion, have been ineffectual*, as His *Majeſty* ſays, we know to whom we owe both the firſt Beginnings and the Progreſs of the Diviſions among our ſelves: the Gentleneſs of *Queen Elizabeth's* Government, and the numbers of thoſe that adhered to the *Church of Rome*, made it ſcarce poſſible to put an end to that Party during her Reign, which has been ever ſince reſtleſs, and has had credit enough at *Court* during the three laſt *Reigns*, not only to ſupport it ſelf, but to diſtract us, and to divert us from apprehending the danger of being ſwallowed up by them, by fomenting our own Differences, and by ſetting on either a *Toleration*, or a *Perſecution*, as it has hapned to ſerve their *Intereſts*. It is not ſo very long ſince, that nothing was to be heard at *Court* but the ſupporting the *Church of England*, and the extirpating all the *Nonconformiſts*; and it were eaſie to name the Perſons, if it were decent, that had this ever in their Mouths: but now all is turned round again, the *Church of England* is in diſgrace; and now the Encouragement of *Trade*, the Quiet of the *Nation*, and the Freedom of *Conſcience* are again in vogue, that were ſuch odious things but a few years ago, that the very mentioning of them was enough to load any Man with Suſpicions, as backward in the *King's* Service, while ſuch Methods are uſed, and the Government is as in an Ague, divided between hot and cold Fits, no wonder if *Laws* ſo unſteadily executed have failed of their Effect.

V. There is a good Reſerve here left for *Severity*, when the proper Opportunity to ſet it on preſents it ſelf: for His *Majeſty* declares himſelf only againſt the *forcing of Men in Matters of meer Religion:* ſo that whenſoever Religion and Policy come to be ſo interwoven, that *meer Religion* is not the Caſe, and that *Publick Safety* may be pretended, then this *Declaration* is to be no more claimed: ſo that the faſtning

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any thing upon the *Proteſtant Religion*, that is inconſiſtent with the Publick Peace, will be pretended to ſhew that they are not perſecuted for *meer Religion*. In *France*, when it was reſolved to extirpate the *Proteſtants*, all the Diſcourſes that were written on that Subject were full of the *Wars* occaſioned by thoſe of the *Religion* in the laſt Age; tho' as theſe were the happy Occaſions of bringing the Houſe of *Bourbon* to the *Crown*, they had been ended above 80 Years ago, and there had not been ſo much as the leaſt Tumult raiſed by them theſe 50 Years paſt: ſo that the *French*, who have ſmarted under this Severity, could not be charged with the leaſt Infraction of the *Law*: yet Stories of a hundred Years old were raiſed up to inſpire into the *King* thoſe Apprehenſions of them, which have produced the terrible Effects that are viſible to all the World. There is another *Expreſſion* in this *Declaration*, which lets us likewiſe ſee with what caution the Offers of Favour are now worded, that ſo there may be an Occaſion given, when the Time and Conjuncture ſhall be favourable, to break thro' them all: it is in theſe words; *So that they take eſpecial Care, that nothing be preached or taught amongſt them, which may any ways tend to alienate the Hearts of our People from us or our Government.* This in it ſelf is very reaſonable, and could admit of no Exception, if we had not to do with a ſet of *Men*, who to our great Misfortune have ſo much Credit with his *Majeſty*, and who will be no ſooner lodged in the Power to which they pretend, than they will make every thing that is *preached* againſt *Popery* paſs for that which may *in ſome manner alienate the Subjects from the King*.

VI. *His Majeſty makes no doubt of the Concurrence of his two Houſes of Parliament, when he ſhall think it convenient for them to meet.* The Hearts of *Kings* are unſearchable; ſo that it is a little too preſumptuous to look into His *Majeſties* ſecret Thoughts: but according to the Judgments that we would make of other Mens Thoughts by their Actions, one would be tempted to think, that His *Majeſty* made ſome doubt of it, ſince his Affairs both at home and abroad could not go the worſe, if it appeared that there were a perfect Underſtanding between *Him* and His *Parliament*, and that his *People* were ſupporting him with freſh *Supplies*; and this *Houſe*

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*of Commons* is so much at his devotion, that all the World saw how ready they were to grant every thing that he could desire of them, till he began to lay off the Masque with relation to the *Test*, and since that time the frequent *Prorogations*, the *Closetting*, and the Pains that has been taken to gain *Members*, by Promises made to some, and the Disgraces of others, would make one a little inclined to think, that *some doubt was made of their Concurrence.* But we must confess, that the depth of His *Majesty*'s Judgment is such, that we cannot fathom it, and therefore we cannot guess what his Doubts or his Assurances are. It is true, the words that come after unriddle the Mystery a little, which are, *when His Majesty shall think it convenient for them to meet:* for the meaning of this seems plain, that His *Majesty* is resolved that they shall never meet, till he receives such Assurances, in a new round of *Closetting*, that he shall be put out of doubt concerning it.

VII. I will not enter into the Dispute concerning *Liberty of Conscience*, and the *Reasons* that may be offered for it to a *Session* of *Parliament:* for there is scarce any one Point, that either with relation to *Religion*, or *Politicks*, affords a greater variety of Matter for Reflection: and I make no doubt to say, that there is abundance of Reason to oblige a *Parliament* to review all the *Penal Laws*, either with relation to *Papists*, or to *Dissenters:* but I will take the boldness to add one thing, that the *King's Suspending of Laws* strikes at the root of this whole *Government*, and subverts it quite: for if there is any thing certain with relation to the *English Government*, it is this, *that the Executive Power of the Law is entirely in the King*; and the *Law* to fortifie him in the Management of it, has clothed him with a vast *Prerogative*, and made it unlawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to resist him: whereas on the other Hand, the *Legislative Power* is not so entirely in the *King*, but that the *Lords* and *Commons* have such a share in it, that no *Law* can be either *made*, *repealed*, or, which is all one, *suspended*, but by their Consent: so that the placing this *Legislative Power* singly in the *King*, is a Subversion of this whole *Government*; since the Essence of all Governments consists in the Subjects of the Legislative Authority; Acts of Violence or Injustice, committed in the *Executive* part,

part, are ſuch things that all *Princes* being ſubject to them, the Peace of Mankind were very ill ſecured, if it were not unlawful to reſiſt upon any Pretence taken from any ill Adminiſtrations, in which as the *Law* may be doubtful, ſo the Facts may be uncertain, and at worſt the Publick Peace muſt always be more valued, than any private Oppreſſions or Injuries whatſoever. But the total *Subverſion* of a *Government*, being ſo contrary to the *Truſt* that is given to the *Prince* who ought to execute it, will put Men upon uneaſie and dangerous Inquiries; which will turn little to the Advantage of thoſe who are driving Matters to ſuch a doubtful and deſperate Iſſue.

VIII. If there is any thing in which the Exerciſe of the *Legiſlative Power* ſeems Indiſpenſible, it is in thoſe *Oaths of Allegiance* and *Teſts* that are thought neceſſary to qualifie Men either to be admitted to enjoy the Protection of the *Law*, or to bear a Share in the *Government*; for in theſe the Security of the Government is chiefly concerned; and therefore the total extinction of theſe, as it is not only a Suſpenſion of them, but a plain Repealing of them, ſo it is a *Subverting* of the whole Foundation of our *Government*: For the Reguſation that *King* and *Parliament* had ſet, both for the Subjects having the Protection of the State by the *Oath of Allegiance*, and for a ſhare in Places of Truſt by the *Teſts*, is now pluckt up by the Roots, when it is declared, *That theſe ſhall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken or ſubſcribed by any Perſons whatſoever*: for it is plain, that this is no *Suſpenſion* of the *Law*, but a formal *Repeal* of it, in as plain Words as can be conceived.

IX. His *Majeſty* ſays, that *the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, is by the Law of Nature inſeparably annexed to, and inherent in his Sacred Perſon.* It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that when ſo many *Laws*, that we all know are ſuſpended, the *Law of Nature*, which is ſo hard to be found out, ſhould be cited; but the Penners of this *Declaration* had beſt let *that Law* lie forgotten among the reſt; for there is a ſcurvy Paragraph in it, concerning *Self-preſervation*, that is capable of very unacceptable Gloſſes. It is hard to tell what Section of the *Law of Nature* has mark'd out either ſuch *a Form of Government*, or ſuch *a Family* for it. And if his *Majeſty* renounces his Pretenſions

Pretensions to our *Allegiance* as founded on the *Laws of England*, and betakes himself to this *Law of Nature*, he will perhaps find the Counsel was a little too rash: But to make the most of this that can be, the *Law of Nations* or *Nature* does indeed allow the *Governours* of all Societies a Power to serve themselves of every Member of it in the cases of extream Danger; but no *Law of Nature* that has been yet heard of, will conclude, that if by *special Laws* a sort of Men have been disabled from all Imployments, that a *Prince* who at his Coronation *swore* to maintain those *Laws*, may at his pleasure extinguish all these Disabilities.

X. At the end of the *Declaration*, as in a Postscript, His *Majesty* assures his Subjects, that he will *maintain them in their Properties, as well in Church and Abby-Lands, as other Lands*: But the Chief of all their *Properties* being the share that they have by their *Representatives* in the *Legislative Power*; this *Declaration* which breaks thro' that, is no great Evidence that the rest will be maintained: And to speak plainly, when a *Coronation Oath* is so little remembred, other *Promises* must have a proportioned degree of Credit given to them: As for the *Abbey-Lands*, the keeping them from the *Church*, is according to the Principles of that Religion, *Sacriledge*; and that is a *Mortal Sin*, and there can no *Absolution* be given to any who continue in it: And so this *Promise* being an Obligation to maintain men in a *Mortal-Sin*, is null and void of it self: *Church-Lands* are also according to the Doctrine of their *Canonists*, so immediately *Gods Right*, that the *Pope* himself is only the Administrator and Dispenser, but is not the Master of them; he can indeed make a truck for God, or let them so *low*, that God shall be an easie *Landlord*, but he cannot alter God's *Property*, nor translate the Right that is in him to *Sacrilegious Laymen* and *Hereticks*.

XI. One of the Effects of this *Declaration*, will be the setting on foot a new run of *Addresses* over the *Nation*: For there is nothing how impudent and base soever, of which the abject Flattery of a slavish Spirit is not capable. It must be confest, to the Reproach of the Age, that all those strains of Flattery among the *Romans*, that *Tacitus* sets forth with so much just Scorn, are modest things, compared to what this *Nation* has produced within these *seven Years*; only if our

Flattery

Flattery has come ſhort of the Refinedneſs of the *Romans*, it has exceeded theirs as much in its loathed Fulſomneſs. The late *King* ſet out a *Declaration*, in which he gave the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances poſſible of his adhering to the *Church of England*, and to the *Religion eſtabliſhed by Law*, and of his Reſolution to have frequent *Parliaments*; upon which the whole *Nation* fell, as it were, into Raptures of Joy and Flattery: But tho' he lived four Years after that, he called no *Parliament*, notwithſtanding the *Law* for *Triennial Parliaments*; and the manner of his *Death*, and the *Papers* printed after his Death in his Name, have ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was equally ſincere in both thoſe Aſſurances that he gave, as well in that relating to *Religion*, as in that other relating to frequent *Parliaments*; yet upon his *Death* a new ſet of *Addreſſes* appeared, in which all that Flattery could invent, was brought forth, in the Commendations of a *Prince*, to whoſe *Memory* the greateſt kindneſs can be done, is *to forget him*. And becauſe his preſent *Majeſty* upon his coming to the *Throne*, gave ſome very general *Promiſe* of *Maintaining the Church of England*, this was magnified in ſo extravagant a ſtrain, as if it had been a ſecurity greater than any that the *Law* could give; tho' by the regard that the *King* has both to *it*, and to the *Laws*, it appears that he is reſolved to maintain both equally. Since then the *Nation* has already made it ſelf ſufficiently ridiculous both to the preſent, and to all ſucceeding Ages, it is time that at laſt men ſhould grow weary, and become aſhamed of their Folly.

XII. The *Nonconformiſts* are now invited to ſet an Example to the reſt; and they who have valued themſelves hitherto upon their Oppoſition to *Popery*, and that have quarrelled with the *Church of England*, for ſome ſmall Approaches to it, in a few *Ceremonies*, are now ſollicited to rejoyce, becauſe the *Laws* that ſecure us againſt it, are all plucked up; ſince they enjoy at *preſent* and *during pleaſure*, leave to meet together. It is natural for all men to love to be ſet at eaſe, eſpecially in the matters of their Conſciences; but it is viſible, that thoſe who allow them this favour, do it with no other deſign, but that under a pretence of a *General Toleration*, they may introduce a *Religion* which muſt *perſecute* all equally: It is likewiſe apparent how much *they* are *hated*, and how much

*they* have been *persecuted* by the Instigation of those who now court them, and who have now no Game that is more promising, than the engaging *them* and the *Church of England* into new Quarrels: And as for the *Promises* now made to them, it cannot be supposed that they will be more lasting than those that were made some time ago to the *Church of England*, who had both a better Title in *Law*, and greater Merit upon the *Crown* to assure them that they should be well used, than these can pretend to. The *Nation* has scarce forgiven some of the *Church of England* the *Persecution* into which they have suffered themselves to be cousened; tho' now that they see *Popery* barefac'd, the Stand that they have made, and the vigorous opposition that they have given to it, is that which makes all men willing to forget what is past, and raises again the Glory of a *Church* that was not a little stained by the Indiscretion and Weakness of those that were too apt to believe and hope, and so suffered themselves to be made a *Property* to those who would now make them a *Sacrifice*. The Sufferings of the *Nonconformists*, and the Fury that the *Popish Party* expressed against them, had recommended them so much to the Compassions of the *Nation*, and had given them so just a Pretension to favour in a better time, that it will look like a Curse of God upon them, if a few *men*, whom the Court has gained to betray them, can have such an ill Influence upon them as to make them throw away all that Merit, and those Compassions which their Sufferings have procured them; and to go and court *those* who are only seemingly kind to them, that they may destroy both *them* and *us*. They must remember, that as the *Church of England* is the only Establishment that our *Religion* has by *Law*, so it is the main body of the *Nation*, and all the *Sects* are but small and straggling Parties: and if the legal Settlement of the *Church* is dissolved, and that Body is once broken, these lesser Bodies will be all at mercy; and it is an easie thing to define what the Mercies of the *Church of Rome* are.

XIII. But tho' it must be confessed, that the *Nonconformists* are still under some Temptations to receive every thing that gives them present ease, with a little too much kindness, since they lie exposed to many severe *Laws*, of which they have of late felt the weight very heavily; and as they are men

men, and ſome of them as ill-natured men as other People, ſo it is no wonder, if upon the firſt Surpriſes of the *Declaration*, they are a little delighted to ſee the *Church of England*, after all its Services and Submiſſions to the *Court*, ſo much mortified by it; ſo that taking all together, it will not be ſtrange if they commit ſome Follies upon this occaſion. Yet on the other hand, it paſſes all imagination, to ſee ſome of the *Church of England*, eſpecially thoſe whoſe Natures we know are ſo particularly ſharpned in the point of *Perſecution*, chiefly when it is levelled againſt the *Diſſenters*, rejoyce at this *Declaration*, and make *Addreſſes* upon it. It is hard to think that they have attained to ſo high a pitch of Chriſtian Charity, as to thank thoſe who do now *deſpitefully uſe them*, and that as an earneſt that within a little while they will *perſecute* them. This will be an Original, and a Maſter-piece in Flattery, which muſt needs draw the laſt degrees of Contempt on, ſuch as are capable of ſo abject and ſordid a compliance, and that not only from all the true *Members* of the *Church of England*, but likewiſe from thoſe of the *Church of Rome* it ſelf; for every man is apt to eſteem an Enemy that is brave even in his Misfortunes, as much as he deſpiſes thoſe whoſe minds ſink with their Condition. For what is it that theſe men would thank the *King*? Is it becauſe he breaks thoſe *Laws* that are made in their favour, and for their Protection, and is now ſtriking at the Root of all the legal Settlement that they have for their *Religion*? Or is it becauſe that at the ſame time that the *King* profeſſes a *Religion* that condemns his *Supremacy*, yet he is not contented with the Exerciſe of it as it is warranted by *Law*, but carries it ſo far as to erect a *Court* contrary to the expreſs words of a *Law* that was ſo lately made? That *Court* takes care to maintain a due proportion between their *Conſtitution* and all their *Proceedings*, that ſo all may be of a piece, and all equally contrary to *Law*. They have ſuſpended one *Biſhop* only becauſe he would not do that which was not in his power to do; for ſince there is no Extrajudiciary Authority in *England*, a *Biſhop* can no more proceed to a Sentence of Suſpenſion againſt a *Clergy man* without a Trial, and the hearing of Parties, than a *Judge* can give a Sentence in his Chamber without an Indictment, a Trial, or a Jury; and becauſe one of

the *Greatest Bodies* of *England* would not break their *Oaths*, and obey a *Mandate* that plainly contradicted them, we see to what a pitch this is like to be carried. I will not anticipate upon this *illegal Court*, to tell what Judgments are coming, but without carrying our Jealousies too far, one may safely conclude, that they will never depart so far from their first *Institution*, as to have any regard, either to our *Religion*, or our *Laws*, or *Liberties*, in any thing they do. If all this were acted by avowed *Papists*, as we are sure it is projected by such, there were nothing extraordinary in it: but that which carries our Indignation a little too far to be easily governed, is to see some *pretended Protestants*, and a few *Bishops*, among those that are the fatal *Instruments* of pulling down the *Church of England*; and that those *Mercenaries* sacrifice their *Religion* and their *Church* to their Ambition and Interests: this has such peculiar Characters of Misfortune upon it, that it seems it is not enough if we perish without Pity, since we fall by that hand that we have so much supported and fortified, but we must become the Scorn of all the World, since we have produced such an unnatural *Brood*, that even while they are pretending to be the *Sons* of the *Church of England*, are cutting their *Mother*'s Throat; and not content with *Judas*'s Crime, of saying, *Hail Master*, and *kissing* him, while they are betraying him into the hands of others; these carry their Wickedness further, and say, *Hail, Mother*, and then they themselves *Murther* her. If after all this we were called on to bear this as *Christians*, and to suffer it as *Subjects*; if we were required in Patience to possess our own Souls, and to be in Charity with our Enemies, and which is more, to forgive our *False-Brethren*, who add Treachery to their Hatred: The Exhortation were seasonable, and indeed a little necessary; for human Nature cannot easily take down things of such a hard digestion; but to tell us that *We* must make *Addresses*, and offer *Thanks* for all this, is to insult a little too much upon us in our Sufferings: And he that can believe that a dry and cautiously worded *Promise* of maintaining the *Church of England*, will be religiously observed, after all that we have seen, and is upon that carried so far out of his Wits, as to *Address* and give *Thanks*, and will believe still, such a man has nothing to excuse him

him from believing *Tranſubſtantiation* it ſelf; for it is plain that he can bring himſelf to believe even when the thing is contrary to the cleareſt Evidence that his Senſes can give him.

*Si populus hic vult decipi decipiatur.*

## POSCRIPT.

THeſe Reflections *were writ ſoon after the* Declaration *came to my Hands, but the Matter of them was ſo tender, and the Conveyance of them to the Preſs was ſo uneaſie, that they appear now too late to have one Effect that was deſigned by them, which was, the diverting* Men *from making* Addreſſes *upon it; yet if what is here propoſed, makes* Men *become ſo far wiſe as to be aſhamed of what they have done, and is a means to keep them from carrying their Courtſhip further than good Words, this Paper will not come too late.*

AN

# AN ANSWER TO Mr. *HENRY PAYNE*'s LETTER Concerning His MAJESTY's DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE.

Writ to the Author of

*The* LETTER *to a* DISSENTER.

Mr. *PAYNE,*

I Cannot hold asking you, how much *Money* you had from the *Writer* of the *Paper* which you pretend to *Answer*? For as you have the Character of a Man that deals with both Hands, so this is writ in such a manner, as to make one think you were hired to it by the Adverse Party: But it has been indeed so ordinary to your Friends, to write in this manner of late, that the Censures upon it are divided, both fall heavy: Some suspect their Sincerity, others accuse them for want of a right Understanding: For tho all are not of the pitch of the *Irish Priests* Reflections on the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* his Sermon, which was indeed *Irish* double refined; yet both in your Books of Controversie, and Policy, and even in your *Poems,*

*Poems*, you ſeem to have entred into ſuch an Intermixture with the *Iriſh*, that the Thred all over is *Linſie-woolſie*. You acknowledge, that the Gentleman whom you anſwer has a *Polite Pen*, and that his *Letter is an ingenious Paper, and made up of well-compoſed Sentences and Periods:* Yet I believe he will hardly return you your Complement. If *it* was well writ, your Party wants either Men or Judgment extremely, in allowing you this Province of anſwering it. If the *Paper* did you ſome hurt, you had better have let the Town be a little pleaſed with it for a while, and have hoped that a little Time, or ſome new Paper, (tho' one of its force is ſcarce to be expected) ſhould have worn it out, than to give it a new Luſtre by ſuch an *Anſwer*.

The *Time of the Diſſenters Sufferings*, which you lengthen out to *Twenty ſeven Years*, will hardly amount to *Seven*. For the long Intervals it had, in the laſt *Reign*, are not forgot: and thoſe who animated the lateſt and ſevereſt of their Sufferings are ſueh, that in good manners you ought not to reflect on *their* Conduct. *Opium* is as certain a *Poyſon*, tho' not ſo *violent*, as *Sublimate*; and if more *corroſive Medicines* did not work, the *Deſign* is the ſame, when *ſoporiferous* ones are uſed; ſince the Patient is to be killed both ways, and it ſeems that all that is in debate, is, which is the ſafer: The accepting a preſent Eaſe, when the ill intent with which it is offered is viſible, is juſt as wiſe an Action, as to take *Opium* to lay a ſmall Diſtemper, when one may conclude from the *Doſe*, that he will never come out of the Sleep. So that after all, it is plain on which ſide the *Madneſs* lies. The *Diſſenters*, for a little preſent eaſe, to be enjoyed at mercy, muſt concur to break down all our Hedges, and to lay us open to that devouring *Power*, before which nothing can ſtand that will not *worſhip* it.

All that for which you reproach the *Church of England*, amounts to this, that a few good Words could not perſuade her to deſtroy her ſelf, and to ſacrifice her *Religion* and the *Laws* to a Party that never has done, nor ever can do the *King* half the Service ſthat She has rendred him. There are ſome ſorts of Propoſitions that a Man does not know how to anſwer; nor would he be thought ingrateful, who after he had received ſome Civilities from a Perſon

Person to whom he had done great Service, could not be prevailed with by these so far, as to spare him his Wife or his Daughter. It must argue a peculiar degree of Confidence, to ask things that are above the being either ask'd or granted. Our *Religion* and our *Government* are Matters that are not to be parted with to shew our good Breeding; and of all Men living, you ought not to pretend to *Good Manners*, who talk as you do, of the *Oppression* of the last *Reign*. When the *King*'s Obligations to his *Brother*, and the share that he had in his *Councils*, are considered, the reproaching his *Government* has so ill a grace, that you are as indecent in your Flatteries, as injurious in your Reflections. And by this Gratitude of yours to the Memory of the late *King*, the *Church of England* may easily infer, how long all her Services would be remembred, even if she had done all that was desired of her.

I would fain know which of the *Brethren of the Dissenters in Foreign Countries sought their Relief from Rebellion*. The *Germans* Reformed by the Authority of their *Princes*, so did the *Swedes*, the *Danes*, and likewise the *Switzers*. In *France* they maintained the Princes of the *Blood* against the *League*; and in *Holland* the Quarrel was for *Civil Liberties*, Protestant and Papist concurring equally in it. You mention *Holland* as an Instance that *Liberty* and *Infallibility* can dwell together; *since Papists there shew that they can be friendly Neighbours to those whom they think in the wrong*. It is very like they would be still so in *England*, if they were under the Lash of the Law, and so were upon their Good-behaviour, the Government being still against them: And this has so good an effect in *Holland*, that I hope we shall never depart from the *Dutch* Pattern. Some can be very Humble Servants, that would prove Imperious Masters. You say, that *Force* is our only Supporter: but tho' there is no Force of our Side at present, it does not appear, that we are in such a tottering condition, as if we had no *Supporter* left us. *God* and *Truth* are of our side; and the indiscreet use of *Force*, when set on by our Enemies, has rather undermined than supported us. But you have taken pains to make us grow wiser, and to let us see our Errors, which is perhaps the only Obligation that we owe you; and we are so sensible of it,

it, that without examining what your Intentions may have been in it, we heartily thank you for it.

I do not comprehend what your Quarrel is at the *ſquinting Term* of the *next Heir*, as you call it; tho' I do not wonder, that *ſquinting* comes in your mind whenſoever you think of HER; for all People look *aſquint* at that which troubles them: and *Her* being the *next Heir*, is no leſs the *Delight* of all Good Men, than it is your *Affliction*: All the pains that you take to repreſent *Her* dreadful to the *Diſſenters*, muſt needs find that credit with them, that is due to the Inſinuations of an Enemy. It is very true, that as *She* was bred up in our *Church*, She adheres to it ſo eminently, as to make *Her* to be now our *chief Ornament*, as we hope She will be once our *main Defence*. If by *the ſtricteſt Form of our Church*, you mean an *Exemplary Piety*, and a *ſhining Converſation*, you have given Her true *Character*: But your Deſign lies another way, to make the *Diſſenters* form ſtrange Ideas of Her, as if She thought *all Indulgence to them Criminal*: But as the Gentleneſs of her Nature is ſuch, that none but thoſe who are ſo guilty, that all Mercy to them would be a Crime, can apprehend any thing that is terrible from *Her*; ſo as for the *Diſſenters*, Her going ſo conſtantly to the *Dutch* and *French* Churches, ſhews, that She can very well endure their Aſſemblies, at the ſame time that She prefers ours. *She* has alſo too often expreſſed her diſlike at the heats that have been kept up among us concerning ſuch inconſiderable Differences, to paſs for a *Bigot* or *Perſecutor* in ſuch Matters; and *She* ſees both the Miſchief that the *Proteſtant Religion* has received from their Subdiviſions, and the happineſs of granting a *due Liberty of Conſcience*, where She has ſo long lived, that there is no reaſon to make any fanſie that She will either keep up our Differences, or bear down the *Diſſenters* with Rigour. But becauſe you hope for nothing from Her own Inclinations, you would have her terrified with the *ſtrong Argument of Numbers*, which you fanſie will *certainly ſecure them from Her recalling the Favour*. But of what ſide ſoever that Argument may be *ſtrong*, ſure it is not of *theirs* who make but *One to Two hundred*; and I ſuppoſe you ſcarce expect that the *Diſſenters* will rebel, that you may

have your *Masses*; and how their Numbers will *secure them*, unless it be by enabling them to *Rebel*, I cannot imagine: This is indeed a *squinting* at the *Next Heir* with a witness, when you would already muster up the Troops that must rise against *Her*. But let me tell you, that you know both *Her* Character and the *Princes* very ill, that fansie they are only to be wrought on by *Fear*. *They* are known, to your great grief, to be above that; and it must be to their own merciful Inclinations, that you must owe all that you can expect under them; but neither to their *Fear*, nor to your own *Numbers*. As for the *Hatred and Contempt, even to the degree of being more ridiculous than the Mass, under which you say Her way of Worship is in Holland*; this is one of those Figures of Speech that shew how exactly you have studied the *Jesuits Morals*. All that come from *Holland*, assure us, that She is so universally beloved and esteemed there, that every thing that she does, is the better thought of even because *She* does it. Upon the whole matter, all that you say of the *Next Heir*, proves too truly that you are that for which you reproach the *Church of England*, a Disciple of the Crown only *for the Loaves*; for if you had that respect which you pretend for the *King*, you would have shewed it more upon this occasion.

Nor am I so much in love with your Style, as to imitate it; therefore I will not do you so great a pleasure, as to say the least thing that may reflect on that *Authority*, which the *Church of England* has taught me to *reverence*, even after all the *Disgraces* that She has received from it: and if She were not insuperably restrained by Her Principles, in stead of the *Thin Muster* with which you reproach *Her*, *She* could soon make so *Thick* a one, as would make the *Thinness* of yours very visible, upon so unequal a Division of the Nation: But She will neither be threatned nor laughed out of Her *Religion* and Her *Loyalty*; tho' such Insultings as She meets with, that almost pass all Humane Patience, would tempt Men that had a less fixed Principle of Submission, to make their Enemies feel to their cost, that they owe all the Triumphs they make, more to *our Principles*, than to their own *Force*. Their laughing at *our* Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, lets us see, that

that it would be none of *theirs* under the *Next Heir*, at whom you *squint*, if the *strong Argument of Numbers* made you not apprehend, that *Two hundred to One* would prove an Unequal Match.

As for your *Memorandums*, I shall answer them as short as you give them.

1. It will be hard to perswade People, that a Decision in favour of the *Dispensing Power*, flowing from *Judges* that are both *made*, and *paid*, and that may be *removed* at *pleasure*, will amount to the *recognizing of that Right by Law*.

2. It will be hard to perswade the World, that the *King*'s adhering to his *Promises*, and his *Coronation-Oath*, and to the known *Laws* of the Land, would make him *Felo de se*. The following of different Methods were the likelier way to it, if it were not for the *Loyalty of the Church of England*.

3. It will be very easie to see the Use of continuing the *Test* by *Law*; since all those that break thro' it, as well as the *Judges* who have authorized their Crimes, are still liable for all they do: and after all your *huffing*, with the *Dispensing Power*, we do not doubt but the apprehension of an after-reckoning sticks *deep* somewhere. You say, *It may be supposed, that the aversion of a Protestant King to the Popish Party, will sufficiently exclude them, even without the Test*: But it must be confessed, that you take all possible care to confirm that *Aversion* so far, as to put it beyond an *It may be supposed*. And it seems you understand *Christ*'s Prerogative, as well as the *Judges* did the *King*'s, that fansie the *Test* is against it: it is so suitable to the nature of all *Governments*, to take Assurances of *those* who are admitted to Places of Trust, that you do very ill to appeal to an *Impartial Consideration*, for you are sure to lose it there.

Few *Englishmen* will believe you in earnest, when you seem zealous for *Publick Liberty*, or the *Magna Charta*; or that you are so very apprehensive of *Slavery*: And your Friends must have very much changed both their Natures and their Principles, if *their Conduct does not give cause to renew the like Statutes against them*, even tho' they should be repealed in this *Reign*, notwithstanding all your confidence to the contrary. I will still believe, that the *strong Argu-*

*ment of Numbers* will be always the powerfulleſt of all others with you: which as long as it has its *Force*, and no longer, we may hope to be at quiet. I concur heartily with you in your Prayers for the *King*, tho perhaps I differ from you in my Notions, both of His *Glory*, and of the *Felicity of his People*. And as for your own Particular, I wiſh you would either not at all employ your Pen, or learn to write to better purpoſe: But tho I cannot admire your Letter, yet I am

*Your Humble Servant,*

T. T.

A N

AN

# ANSWER

TO A

# PAPER

Printed with *Allowance*,

Entitled,

*A New Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty.*

I. THE Accuſing the *Church of England* of Want of *Loyalty*, or the putting it to a *new Teſt*, after ſo freſh a one, with relation to His *Majeſty*, argues a high degree of Confidence in him who undertakes it. *She* knew well what were the Doctrines and Practices of thoſe of the *Roman Church*, with relation to *Hereticks*; and yet *She* was ſo true to her *Loyalty*, that *She* ſhut her Eyes on all the Temptations that ſo juſt a fear could raiſe in her: And *She* ſet her ſelf to ſupport His *Majeſties* Right of *Succeſſion*, with ſo much Zeal, that *She* thereby not only put her ſelf in the power of her Enemies, but *She* has alſo expoſed her ſelf to the Scorn of thoſe who inſult over her in her Misfortune. *She* loſt the Affections even of many of her own Children, who thought that her Zeal for an Intereſt, which was then ſo much decry'd, was a little too fervent: And all thoſe who judged ſeverely of the Proceedings, thought that the Oppoſition which *She* made to the ſide that then went ſo high, had more Heat than Decency in it. And indeed all this was ſo very extraordinary, that if *She* was not acted by a Principle of Conſcience,

science, *She* could make no Excuse for her Conduct. There appeared such peculiar Marks of Affection and Heartiness at every time that the *Duke* was named, whether in drinking his Health, or upon graver Occasions, that it seemed affected: And when the late *King* himself (whose Word they took, that he was a *Protestant*) was spoke of but coldly, the very Name of the *Duke* set her Children all on fire; this made many conclude, that they were ready to sacrifice all to him: for indeed their Behaviour was inflamed with so much Heat, that the greater part of the *Nation* believed they waited for a fit opportunity to declare themselves. *Faith in Jesus Christ* was not a more frequent Subject of the *Sermons* of many, than *Loyalty*; and the *Rights of the Succession to the Crown*, the Heat that appeared in the *Pulpit*, and the Learning that was in their *Books* on these Subjects, and the Eloquent Strains that were in their *Addresses*, were all *Originals*; and made the World conclude, That whatever might be laid to their charge, they should never be accused of any want of *Loyalty*, at least in this *King*'s time, while the remembrance of so signal a Service was so fresh. When His *Majesty* came to the *Crown*, these men did so entirely depend on the Promise that he made *to maintain the Church of England*, that the doubting of the performance appeared to them the worst sort of *Infidelity*. They believed, that in His *Majesty*, the *Hero*, and the *King*, would be too strong for the *Papist*; and when any one told them, *How weak a tie the Faith of a Catholick to Hereticks must needs be*, they could not hearken to this with any patience; but looked on his *Majesties Promise* as a thing so Sacred, that they imploy'd their Interest to carry all *Elections* of *Parliament-men*, for those that were recommended by the *Court*, with so much Vigour, that it laid them open to much Censure. In *Parliament* they moved for no *Laws* to secure their *Religion*, but assuring themselves, that *Honour* was the King's *Idol*, they laid hold on it, and fancied, that a publick reliance on his *Word*, would give them an Interest in His *Majesty*, that was Generous, and more suitable to the Nobleness of a Princely Nature, than any new *Laws* could be; so that they acquiesced in it, and gave the *King* a vast *Revenue* for life. In the Rebellion that followed, they shewed with what Zeal they adhered to His

*Majesty*

*Majesty*, even against a Pretender that declared for them. And in the Session of *Parliament*, which came after that, they shewed their disposition to assist the *King* with new *Supplies*, and were willing to excuse and indemnifie all that was past, only they desired with all possible Modesty, that the *Laws* which His *Majesty* had both *Promised*, and at his Coronation had *Sworn* to maintain, might be *executed*. Here is their Crime, which has raised all this Out-cry; they did not move for the Execution of Severe or Penal *Laws*, but were willing to let those sleep, till it might appear by the behaviour of the *Papists*, whether they might deserve that there should be any Mitigation made of them in their Favour. Since that time, our *Church men* have been constant in mixing their Zeal for their *Religion* against *Popery*, with a Zeal for *Loyalty* against *Rebellion*, because they think these two are very well consistent one with another. It is true, they have generally expressed an unwillingness to part with the *two Tests*, because they have no mind to trust the keeping of their Throats to those who they believe will cut them: And they have seen nothing in the Conduct of the *Papists*, either within or without the Kingdom, to make them grow weary of the *Laws* for their sakes; and the same Principle of common Sense, which makes it so hard for them to believe *Transubstantiation*, makes them conclude, That the *Author* of this Paper, and his *Friends*, are no other, than what they *hear* and *see*, and *know* them to be.

II. One Instance in which the *Church of England* shewed her Submission to the *Court*, was, that as soon as the *Nonconformists* had drawn a new Storm upon themselves, by their medling in the matter of the *Exclusion*, many of her zealous *Members* went into that Prosecution of them, which the *Court* set on foot, with more Heat than was perhaps either justifiable in it self, or reasonable in those Circumstances; but how censurable soever some angry men may be, it is somewhat strange to see those of the *Church of Rome* blame us for it, which has decreed such unrelenting Severities against all that differ from her, and has enacted that not only in *Parliaments*, but even in *General Councils*. It must needs sound odly to hear the Sons of a *Church* that must destroy all *others* as soon as it can compass it, yet complain of the

Excesses

Excesses of *Fines* and *Imprisonments*, that have been of late among us. But if this Reproach seems a little strange when it is in the Mouth of a *Papist*, it is yet much more provoking when it comes from any of the *Court*. Were not all the *Orders* for the late *Severity* sent from thence? Did not the *Judges* in every *Circuit*, and the Favourite *Justices of Peace* in every Sessions, imploy all their Eloquence on this *Subject*? The Directions that were given to the *Justices* and the *Grand Juries*, were all repeated Aggravations of this Matter; and a little *Ordinary Lawyer*, without any other visible Merit, but an outragious Fury in those Matters, on which he has chiefly valued himself, was of a sudden taken into His *Majesties* special Favour, and raised up to the *Highest Posts* of the *Law*. All these things led some of our Obedient *Clergy* to look on it as a piece of their Duty to the *King* to encourage that *Severity*, of which the *Court* seemed so fond, that almost all People thought they had set it up for a Maxim, from which they would never depart. I will not pretend to excuse all that has been done of late years, but it is certain, that the most crying *Severities* have been acted by Persons that were raised up to be *Judges* and *Magistrates* for that very end; they were *Instructed*, *Trusted*, and *Rewarded* for it, both in the *last*, and under the *present* Reign. *Church Preferments* were distributed rather as Recompences of this devouring Zeal, than of a real Merit; and men of more moderate Tempers were not only ill lookt at, but ill used. So that it is in it self very unreasonable to throw the load of the late Rigour on the *Church of England*, without distinction; but it is worse than in good manners it is fit to call it, if this Reproach comes from the *Court*. And it is somewhat unbecoming to see that which was set on at one time, disowned at another, while yet he that was the *Chief Instrument* in it, is still in so high a *Post*, and begins now to treat the *Men* of the *Church of England* with the same *Brutal Excesses* that he bestowed so lately, and so liberally on the *Dissenters*, as if his Design were to render himself equally odious to all Mankind.

III. The *Church of England* may justly expostulate when she is treated as *Seditious*, after she has rendred the highest Services to the *Civil Authority*, that any *Church* now on Earth has

has done: She has beaten down all the Principles of *Rebellion*, with more Force and Learning, than any Body of men has ever yet done; and has run the hazard of enraging her Enemies, and loſing her Friends, even for thoſe, from whom the more Learned of her Members knew well what they might expect. And ſince our *Author* likes the figure of a *Snake in ones Boſome* ſo well, I could tell him, that according to the *Apologue*, we took up, and ſheltered an *Intereſt* that was almoſt dead, and by that warmth gave it life; which yet now with the *Snake in the Boſome*, is like to bite us to death. We do not ſay, we are the *only Church that has Principles of Loyalty*; but this we may ſay, That we are the *Church* in the World that carries them the *higheſt*; as we know a *Church* that of all others ſinks them them the *loweſt*. We do not pretend, that we are *Inerrable* in this Point, but acknowledge that ſome of our *Clergy* miſcarried in it upon *King Edward*'s Death: Yet at the ſame time others of our Communion adhered more ſteadily to their *Loyalty* in favour of *Queen Mary*, than *She* did to the *Promiſes* that ſhe made to *them*. Upon this Subject our *Author*, by his falſe Quotation of *Hiſtory*, forces me to ſet the *Reader* right, which if it proves to the diſadvantage of his Cauſe, his Friends may thank him for it. I will not enter into ſo tedious a Digreſſion, as the juſtifying *Queen Elizabeth*'s being Legitimate, and the throwing the *Baſtardy* on *Queen Mary*, muſt carry me to; this I will only ſay, That it was made out, that according to the beſt ſort of *Arguments* uſed by the *Church of Rome*, I mean the conſtant Tradition of all Ages, *King Henry the* VIII. marrying with *Queen Katherine*, was *Inceſtuous*, and by Conſequence *Queen Mary* was the *Baſtard*, and *Queen Elizabeth* was the *Legitimate Iſſue*. But our *Author*, not ſatisfied with defaming *Queen Elizabeth*, tells us, that the *Church of England* was no ſooner ſet up by her, *than She Enacted thoſe Bloody Cannibal Laws to Hang, Draw, and Quarter the Prieſts of the living God.* But ſince theſe *Laws* diſturb him ſo much, What does he think of the *Laws* of *Burning the poor Servants of the living God*, becauſe they cannot give *Divine Worſhip* to that which they believe to be only a *Piece of Bread*? The Repreſentation he gives of this part of our Hiſtory, is ſo falſe, that tho' upon

*Queen Elizabeth*'s coming to the *Crown*, there were many Complaints exhibited of the illegal Violences that *Bonner* and other Butchers had committed; yet all these were stifled, and no *Penal Laws* were enacted against those of that *Religion*. The *Popish Clergy* were indeed turned out, but they were well used, and had Pensions assigned them; so ready was the *Queen* and our *Church* to forgive what was past, and to shew all Gentleness for the future. During the first thirteen years of her *Reign*, matters went on calmly, without any sort of Severity on the account of *Religion*. But then the restless Spirit of that Party began to throw the Nation into violent Convulsions. The *Pope* deposed the *Queen*, and and one of the Party had the Impudence to post up the *Bull* in *London*; upon this followed several *Rebellions*, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and the *Papists* of both *Kingdoms* entred into Confederacies with the *King of Spain* and the *Court of Rome*: The *Priests* disposed all the *People* that depended on them, to submit to the *Pope*'s Authority in that *Deposition*, and to reject the *Queen*'s. These Endeavours, besides open Rebellions, produced many secret Practices against her Life. All these things gave the rise to the severe *Laws*, which began not to be enacted before the twentieth year of her *Reign*. A War was formed by the *Bull of Deposition*, between the *Queen* and the *Court of Rome*, so it was a necessary piece of Precaution to declare all those to be Traitors, who were the *Missionaries* of that Authority which had stript the *Queen* of hers: Yet those *Laws* were not executed upon some Secular *Priests* who had the Honesty to condemn the *Deposing Doctrine*. As for the *Unhappy Death* of the *Queen* of *Scotland*, it was brought on by the wicked Practices of her own *Party*, who fatally involved her in some of them: *She* was but a *Subject* here in *England*, and if the *Queen* took a more violent way than was decent for her own Security; here was no *Disloyalty* nor *Rebellion* in the *Church of England*, which owed her no sort of *Allegiance*.

IV. I do not pretend that the *Church of England* has any great cause to value her self upon her Fidelity to *King Charles the First*, tho' our *Author* would have it pass *for the only thing of which She can boast*; for I confess, *the cause of*

*of the Church* was ſo twiſted with the *King's*, that Intereſt and Duty went together; tho' I will not go ſo far as our *Author*, who ſays, *that the Law of Nature dictates to every Individual to fight in his own Defence*: This is too bold a thing to be delivered ſo crudely at this time. The *Laws of Nature* are perpetual, and can never be cancelled by any ſpecial Law: So if theſe *Gentlemen* own ſo freely, that this is a *Law of Nature*, they had beſt take care not to provoke *Nature* too much, leſt She fly to the Relief that this *Law* may give her, unleſs ſhe is reſtrained by the *Loyalty* of our *Church*. Our *Author* values his *Party* much upon their *Loyalty* to *King Charles the Firſt*: But I muſt take the liberty to ask him, of what *Religion* were the *Iriſh Rebels*? and what ſort of *Loyalty* was it, that they ſhewed, either in the firſt *Maſſacre*, or in the Progreſs of that *Rebellion*? Their *Meſſages* to the *Pope*, to the *Court of France*, and to the *Duke of Lorrain*, offering themſelves to any of theſe that would have undertaken to protect them, are Acts of *Loyalty*, which the *Church of England* is no way inclined to follow, and the authentical Proofs of theſe things are ready to be produced. Nor need I add to this, the hard terms they offered to the *King*, and their ill uſage of thoſe whom he imployed. I could likewiſe repreſs the Inſolence of this *Writer*, by telling him of the ſlaviſh Submiſſions that *their Party* made to *Cromwel*, both *Father* and *Son*. As for their adhering to *King Charles the Firſt*, there is a peculiar boldneſs in our *Author*'s Aſſertion, who ſays, That they had *no Hope nor Intereſt in that cauſe*: The State of that *Court* is not ſo quite forgot, but that we do well remember what Credit the *Queen* had with the *King*, and what Hopes *She* gave the *Party*; yet they did not ſo entirely eſpouſe the *King's cauſe*, but that they had likewiſe a flying Squadron in the *Parliaments Army*, how boldly ſoever this may be denied by our *Author*; for this I will give him a Proof that is beyond exception, in a *Declaration* of that *Kings*, ſent to the *Kingdom of Scotland*, bearing date the 21 of *April* 1643. which is printed over and over again; and as an *Author* that writes the *Hiſtory* of the *late Wars*, has aſſured us, the clean draught of it, corrected in ſome places with the *King*'s own Hand, is yet extant; ſo that it cannot be pretended, that this was only a bold Aſ-

sertion of some of the *Kings Ministers* that might be ill affected to their Party. In that *Declaration* the *King* studied to possess his *Subjects* of *Scotland* with the Justice of his Cause, and among other things, to clear himself of that Imputation that he had an *Army of Papists* about him; after many things said on that head, these words are added; *Great numbers of that Religion have been with great Alacrity entertained in that Rebellious Army against us; and others have been seduced, to whom we had formerly denied Imployments, as appears by the Examination of many Prisoners, of whom we have taken twenty, and thirty at a time of one Troop or Company, of that Religion.* I hope our *Author* will not have the Impudence to dispute the Credit that is due to this Testimony; but no Discoveries, how evident so ever they may be, can affect some sort of Men that have a Secret against blushing.

V. Our *Author* exhorts us to change *our Principles of Loyalty, and to take example of our Catholick Neighbours, how to behave our selves towards a Prince that is not of our Perswasion.* But would he have us learn of our *Irish Neighbours* to cut our Fellow-subjects Throats, and rebel against our *King*, because he is of another *Religion*? For that is the freshest Example that any of our *Catholick Neighbours* have set us; and therefore I do not look so far back as to the *Gunpowder-Plot*, or the *League* of *France* in the last Age. He reproaches us for *failing in our Fidelity to our King.* But in this matter we appeal to God, Angels, and Men, and in particular to His *Majesty*: Let our Enemies shew any one point of our Duty, in which we have failed; for as we cannot be charged for having preach'd any seditious Doctrine, so we are not wanting in the preaching of the *Duties* of *Loyalty*, even when we see what they are like to *cost* us. The Point which he singles out, is, *That we have failed in that grateful Return that we owed His Majesty for his Promise of maintaining our* Church *as it is established by Law; since upon that we ought to have repealed the Sanguinary Laws, and the late impious Tests; the former being enacted to maintain the Usurpation of* Queen Elizabeth, *and the other being contrived to exclude the present King.* We have not failed to pay all the Gratitude and Duty that was possible, in return to His *Majesties Promise*, which we have carried so far, that we are become the Object even of

our

our Enemies Scorn by it. With all Humility be it ſaid, that if His *Majeſty* had promiſed us a farther Degree of his Favour, than that of which the *Law* had aſſured us, it might have been expected, that our return ſhould have been a degree of Obedience beyond that which was required by *Law*; ſo that the return of the Obedience injoined by *Law*, anſwers a Promiſe of a *Protection* according to *Law*: Yet we carried this matter further; for, as was ſet forth in the beginning of this *Paper*, we went on in ſo high a pace of Compliance and Confidence, that we drew the Cenſures of the whole *Nation* on us: Nor could any Jealouſies or Fears give us the leaſt Apprehenſions, till we were ſo hard preſſed in matters of *Religion*, that we could be no longer ſilent. The ſame *Apoſtle* that taught us to *honour the King*, ſaid likewiſe, that we muſt *obey God rather than man*. Our *Author* knows the Hiſtory of our *Laws* ill; for beſides what has been already ſaid, touching the *Laws* made by Queen *Elizabeth*, the ſevereſt of all our *Penal Laws*, and that which troubles him and his Friends moſt, was paſt by *K. James* after the *Gunpowder Plot*; a Provocation that might have well juſtified even greater Severities. But tho' our *Author* may hope to impoſe on an ignorant *Reader*, who may be apt to believe implicitly what he ſays concerning the *Laws* of the laſt Age, yet it was too bold for him to aſſert, that the *Teſts* which are ſo lately made, were contrived to *exclude* the preſent *King*, when there was not a Thought of *Excluſion* many years after the firſt was made, and the *Duke* was excepted out of the *Second* by a ſpecial *Proviſo*. But theſe *Gentlemen* will do well never to mention the *Excluſion*; for every time that it is named, it will make People call to mind the Service that the *Church of England* did in that matter, and that will carry with it a Reproach of *Ingratitude* that needs not be aggravated. He alſo confounds the *two Teſts*, as if that for *Publick Imployments* contained in it a Declaration of the *King's being an Idolater*, or as he makes it, a *Pagan*, which is not at all in it; but in the other for the *Members* of *Parliament*, in which there is indeed a Declaration, that the *Church of Rome* is guilty of *Idolatry*; which is done in general terms, without applying it to His *Majeſty*, as our Author does: Upon this he would infer, That his Majeſty is not *ſafe* till the

the *Tests* are taken away; but we have given such Evidences of our *Loyalty*, that we have plainly shewed this to be false; since we do openly declare, that our *Duty* to the *King* is not founded on his being of this or that *Religion*; so that His *Majesty* has a full Security from our Principles, tho' the *Tests* continue, since there is no reason that we who did run the hazard of being ruined by the *Excluders*, when the Tide was so strong against us, would fail his *Majesty* now, when our Interest and Duty are joyned together: But if the *Tests* are taken away, it is certain that we can have *no Security any longer*; for we shall be then laid open to the Violence of such restless and ill-natured men, as the *Author* of this *Paper* and his *Brethren* are.

VI. The same reason that made *our Saviour* refuse to throw himself down from the Roof of the Temple, when the Devil tempted him to it, in the vain Confidence, that *Angels must be assistant to him to preserve him*, holds good in *our Case*. Our Saviour said, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. And we dare not trust our selves to the Faith, and to the Mercies of a *Society*, that is but too well known to the World, to pretend, that we should pull down our Pales to let in such *Wolves* among us. *God* and the *Laws* have given us legal *Security*, and His *Majesty* has promised to maintain us in it; and we think it argues no Distrust either of *God*, or the Truth of our *Religion*, to say, that we cannot by any Act of our own, lay our selves open, and throw away that defence. Nor would we willingly expose His *Majesty* to the *unwearied Sollicitations of a sort of men*, who, if we may judge of that which is to come, by that which is past, would give him no rest, if once the restraints of *Law* were taken off, but would drive matters to those Extremities to which we see their Natures carry them head long.

VII. The last *Paragraph* is a strain worthy of that School that bred our *Author*; he says, *His Majesty may withdraw his Royal Protection from the Church of England, which was promised her upon the account of her constant Fidelity*; and he brings no other Proof to confirm so bold an *Assertion*, but a false *Axiome* of that despised *Philosophy* in which he was bred; *Cessante causa tollitur effectus*. This is indeed such an Indignity to His *Majesty*, that I presume to say it with all humble reve-

reverence, theſe are the laſt perſons whom he ought to *pardon*, that have the boldneſs to touch ſo ſacred a point as *the Faith of a Prince*, which is the chief Security of Government, and the Foundation of all the Confidence that a *Prince* can promiſe himſelf from his *People*; and which, once blaſted, can never be recovered. Equivocations may be both taught and practiſed with leſs danger, by an *Order* that has little Credit to loſe; but nothing can ſhake *Thrones* ſo much as ſuch treacherous *Maxims*. I muſt alſo ask our *Author*, in what point of *Fidelity* has our Church *failed* ſo far as to make her forfeit her Title to His *Majeſties Promiſes*? For as he himſelf has ſtated this matter, it comes all to this: *The King promiſed that he would maintain the Church of England as eſtabliſhed by Law*. Upon which in Gratitude he ſays, That the *Church of England* was bound to throw up the Chief *Security* that ſhe had in her Eſtabliſhment *by Law*; which is, that *all* who are intruſted either with the *Legiſlative* or the *Executive* parts of our *Government* muſt be of her *Communion*; and if the *Church of England* is not ſo tame, and ſo ſubmiſſive, as to part with *this*, then the *King* is free from his *Promiſe*, and may withdraw his *Royal Protection*, tho' I muſt crave leave to tell him, that the *Laws* gave the *Church of England* a Right to that *Protection*, whether His *Majeſty* had promiſed it, or not.

Of all the *Maxims* in the World, there is none more hurtful to the *Government*, in our preſent Circumſtances, than the ſaying, that the *King's Promiſes* and the *Peoples Fidelity* ought to be *reciprocal*; and that a Failure in the one, cuts off the other; for by a very natural Conſequence the *Subject* may likewiſe ſay, That their *Oaths of Allegeance* being founded on the Aſſurance of His *Majeſties Protection*, the *One binds* no longer than the *Other* is *obſerved*: and the Inferences that may be drawn from hence, will be very terrible, if the *Loyalty* of the ſo much decryed *Church of England* does not put a ſtop to them.

THE

# THE EARL of *MELFORT*'s LETTER TO THE PRESBYTERIAN-MINISTERS IN SCOTLAND,

Writ in his *Majesties* Name upon their

# ADDRESS:

Together with some *Remarks* upon it.

## The Earl of *Melfort*'s Letter.

Gentlemen,

I *Am commanded by His* Majesty *to signifie unto you his gracious acceptance of your* Addres, *that he is well satisfied with your* Loyalty *expressed therein; for the which he resolves to perpetuate the Favour, not only*

*only during his own* Reign, *but alſo to lay down Ways for its* Continuance, *and that by* appointing *in the next enſuing* Parliament *the taking off all* Penal Statutes *contrary to the* Liberty *or* Toleration *granted by him.*

*His* Majeſty *knows, that Enemies to* Him, *to* You, *and this* Toleration, *will be uſing all Endeavours to infringe the ſame; but as ever the Happineſs of his* Subjects, *ſtanding in* Liberty of Conſcience, *and the Security of their* Properties (*next the Glory of God*) *hath been his* Majeſties *great end; ſo he intends to continue, if he have all ſutable Encouragement and Concurrence from you in your* Doctrine *and* Practice; *and therefore as he hath taken away the* Proteſtant Penal Statutes *lying on you, and herein has walked contrary not only to other* Catholick Kings, *but alſo in a way different from* Proteſtant Kings *who have gone before him, whoſe Maxim was to undo you by* Fining, Confining, *and taking away your* Eſtates, *and to harraſs you in your* Perſons, Liberties *and* Priviledges; *ſo he expects a thankful acknowledgment from you, by making your* Doctrine *tend to cauſe all his* Subjects *to walk* obediently, *and by your* Practice *walking ſo as ſhall be moſt pleaſing to His* Majeſty, *and the concurring with him for the removing theſe* Penal Statutes. *And he further expects that you continue your Prayers to God for his long and happy* Reign, *and for all Bleſſings on his* Perſon *and* Government; *and likewiſe that you look well to your* Doctrine, *and that your* Example *be influential: All theſe are His* Majeſties *Commands.*

Sic ſubſ.

*MELFORT.*

# REMARKS.

THE *Secretary Hand* is known to all the *Writing-Masters* of the Town; but here is an Eſſay of the *Secretary's Stile* for the *Maſters* of our Language: This is an Age of Improvements, and Men that come very young into Imployments, make commonly a great Progreſs; therefore common things are not to be expected here: it is true, ſome Roughneſſes in the *Stile* ſeem to intimate, that the Writer could turn his *Conſcience* more eaſily than he can do his Pen, and that the one is a little ſtiffer and leſs compliant than the other. He tells the *Addreſſers*, That *his Majeſty is well ſatisfied with their Loyalty contained in their Addreſs, for the which he reſolves to perpetuate the Favour.* It appears that the *Secretary-Stile* and the *Notary-Stile* come nearer one another than was generally believed: *For the which* here, and *infringe the ſame* afterwards, are Beauties borrowed from the *Notary-Stile*: The *foreſaid* is not much courſer. The King's *perpetuating the Favour*, is no eaſie thing, unleſs he could firſt *perpetuate* himſelf. Now tho' His Majeſties Fame will be certainly *immortal*, yet to our great Regret, his Perſon is *mortal*; ſo it is hard to conceive how this *Perpetuity* ſhould be ſettled.

The Method here propoſed is a new Figure of the *Secretary-Stile*; which is the *appointing in the next enſuing Parliament the taking off all Penal Laws.* All former *Secretaries* uſed the modeſt Words of *propoſing* or *recommending*; but he who in a former *Eſſay* of this *Stile* told us of His Majeſties *Abſolute Power, to which all the Subjects are to ſubmit without reſerve*, furniſhes us now with this *new* term of the *King's appointing* what ſhall be done in *Parliament*. But what if after all, the *Parliament* proves ſo ſtubborn, as not to comply with this *Appointment*, I am afraid then the *Perpetuity* will be of a ſhort continuance. He in the next place mentions the *Liberty or Toleration granted by the King. Liberty* is not ſo hard a Word, but that it might be underſtood without this Explanation *or Toleration*, unleſs the *Secretary*

*Stile* either approaches to the *Notary-Stile* in ſome nauſeous Repetitions, or that he would intimate by this, That all the *Liberty* that is left the Subjects, is comprehended in this *Toleration*. And indeed, after *Abſolute Power* was once aſſerted, is was never fit to name *Liberty* without ſome Reſtriction. After this comes a ſtately Period, *The Enemies to Him, to You, and to this Toleration*. Yet I ſhould be ſorry if it were true; for I hope there are many *Enemies to this Toleration*, who are neither *Enemies* to the *King*, nor to theſe *Addreſſers*; and that on the contrary they are *Enemies* to it, becauſe they are the *beſt Friends* that both the *King*, and the *People* have. It is now no ſecret, that tho' both the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* are great Enemies to *Perſecution*, and in particular to all Rigour againſt the *Presbyterians*, yet they are not ſatisfied with the way in which this *Toleration* is granted. But the reckoning of them as *Enemies* either to the *King*, or the *People*, is one of the Figures of this *Stile*, that will hardly paſs; and ſome will not ſtick to ſay, that the Writer of this *Letter* has with this daſh of his Pen, declared more Men *Eemies* to the King, than ever he will be able to make *Friends* to him. He tells them next, that theſe *Enemies* will be *uſing all endeavours to infringe the ſame*. This is alſo a ſtrong Expreſſion. We know the uſe of the *Noun Infractions*, but *Infringe* is borrowed from the *Notaries*; yet the plain ſenſe of this ſeems to be, that thoſe *Enemies* will diſturb the *Meetings*, of which I do not hear any of them have the leaſt thought; yet by a ſecret Figure of the *Secretary Stile*, perhaps this belongs to all thoſe who either think that the *King* cannot do it by Law, or that will not give their Vote to confirm it in *Parliament*: but I am not ſo well acquainted with all the Myſteries of this *Stile*, as to know its full depth.

There comes next a long Period of fifty words, for I was at the pains to count them all, which ſeemed a little too prolix for ſo ſhort a *Letter*, eſpecially in one that writes after the *French* Pattern. *But as ever the Happineſs of his Subjects, Standing in Liberty of Conſcience, and the Security of their Properties, next the Glory of God, hath been His Majeſties great End; ſo he intends to continue, if he have all ſutable Encouragement*

*ment and Concurrence from you in your Doctrine and Practice.* The putting *ever* at the beginning of the Period, and at ſo great a diſtance from that to which it belongs, is a new Beauty of *Stile.* And the *Standing* of this *Happineſs*, makes me reflect on that which I hear a *Scotch Preacher* delivered in a *Sermon*, that he doubted this *Liberty* would prove but like a *ſtanding Drink.* The *Kings receiving ſutable Encouragement from his Subjects*, agrees ill with the height of *Stile* that went before, of *appointing what the Parliament muſt do. Kings* receive returns of *Duty* and *Obedience* from their *Subjects*; but hitherto *Encouragement* was a word uſed among Equals; the applying it to the *King*, is a new Figure. A man not verſed in the *Secretary-Stile*, would have expreſſed this matter thus: *His Majeſty has ever made the Happineſs of His Subjects, which conſiſts in Liberty of Conſcience, and the Security of Property, his great end, next to the Glory of God; and he intends to do ſo ſtill, if he receives all ſutable returns from you in your Doctrine and Practice.* I have marked this the more particularly, to make the difference between the *Common* and the *Secretary-Stile* the more ſenſible. But what need is there of the *Concurrence of the Addreſſers* with the *King*, if he *appoints the next Parliament to take off all the Penal Laws?* Muſt we likewiſe believe that His Majeſties Zeal for the *Happineſs of His Subjects* depends on the Behaviour of theſe *Addreſſers*, and on the *Encouragement* that he receives from them, ſo that he will not *continue* it, unleſs they *encourage* him in it? This is but an incertain Tenure, and not like to be *perpetual.* But after all, the *Secretary-Stile* is not the *Royal Stile*; ſo notwithſtanding this beautiful Period, we hope our Happineſs is more ſteady than to turn upon the *Encouragings* of a few Men; otherwiſe if it is a *ſtanding Happineſs*, yet it is a very tottering one. The *Proteſtant Penal Statutes* is another of his Elegancies: For ſince all the *Penal Laws*, as well thoſe againſt *Papiſts*, as thoſe againſt *Diſſenters*, were made by *Proteſtant Parliaments*, one does not ſee how fitly this Epithete comes in here; another would have worded this, thus; *the Penal Statutes made againſt Proteſtants.* But the *new Stile* has Figures peculiar to it ſelf, that paſs in the *Common Stile* for *Improprieties.*

This

This Noble *Lord* is not contented to raiſe His Majeſties Glory above all other *Catholick Kings*, in this Grant of *Liberty or Toleration*, in which there is no Competition to be made; for tho' the Moſt *Chriſtian King*, who is the *Eldeſt Son of that Church*, has indeed executed her *Orders* in their full extent of Severity, yet His Majeſty, who is but the *Cadet* in that *Church*'s Catalogue of Honour, it ſeems does not think that he is yet ſo much beholden to his *Mother*, as to gratifie her by the Deſtruction of his People: yet I ſay, as if this were too little, the *King*'s Glory is here carried farther, even above the *Proteſtant Kings who have gone before him, whoſe Maxim was to undo you by Fining, Confining, and taking away your Eſtates, and to harraſs you in your Perſons, Liberties, and Priviledges.* Here is an Honour that is done the King's *Anceſtors* by one of his *Secretaries*, which is indeed new, and of his own Invention: The *Proteſtant Kings* can be no other than the King's *Brother, his Father, and his Grandfather. Kings* ſhut out Queen *Elizabeth*, who might have been brought in, if the more general term of *Crowned Heads* had been made uſe of; but as the Writer has ordered it, the Satyr falls ſingly on the King's *Progenitors*; for the *Papers* that were found in the *Strong Box* will go near to put the late *King* out of the Liſt of *Proteſtant Kings*; ſo that this Reprooch lies wholly on the King's *Father* and his *Grandfather*. It is a little ſurpriſing, after all the Eloquence that has been imployed to raiſe the Character of the late *Martyr* to ſo high a pitch, that one of his Son's *Secretaries* ſhould ſet it under his Hand in a *Letter* that he pretends is written by the *King*'s Commands, *That he made it a Maxim to undo his People.* The Writer of this *Letter* ſhould have avoided the mentioning of *Fines*, ſince it is not ſo long ſince both *He* and his *Brother* valued themſelves on a point that they carried in the *Council of Scotland*, that *Husbands* ſhould be fined for their *Wives* not going to *Church*, tho' it was not founded on any Law. And of all Men living *he* ought to be the laſt that ſhould ſpeak of *the taking away of Eſtates*, who got a very fair one during the preſent *Reign*, by an *Act of Parliament*, that attainted a *Gentleman* in a *Method* as new as his *Stile* is; upon this ground, that two *Privy Counſellors* declared,

red, they belived him *guilty*. He will hardly find among all the *Maxims of thoſe Proteſtant perſecuting Kings*, any one that will juſtifie this.

It ſeems the *New Stile* is not very copious in Words, ſince *Doctrine* is *three* times repeated in ſo ſhort a *Letter*. He tells them, that their *Doctrine muſt tend to cauſe all the Subjects to walk obediently*; now by *obediently* in this *Stile*, is to *obey the Abſolute Power without reſerve*; for to *obey according to Law*, would paſs now for a Crime: This being then his meaning, it is probable that the *Encouragements* which are neceſſary to make His Majeſty continue the happineſs of his Subjects, will not be ſo very great, as to merit the *perpetuating this Favour*. There is with this a heavy charge laid upon them as to their *Practice*, *that it muſt be ſuch as ſhall be moſt pleaſing to his Majeſty*; for certainly that can only be by their turning *Papiſts*; ſince a *Prince* that is ſo zealous for his *Religion*, as His Majeſty is, cannot be ſo well pleaſed with any other thing as with this; *Their concurring with the King to remove the Penal Laws*, comes over again; for tho' Repetitions are Impertinencies in the *Common Stile*, they are Flowers in the *new one*.

In Concluſion, he tells them, That the *King expects that they will continue their Prayers for him*; yet this does not agree too well with a *Catholick* Zeal; for the Prayers of *damned Hereticks* cannot be worth the asking; for the third time he tells them to *look well to their Doctrine*; now this is a little ambiguous, for it may either ſignifie, that they ſhould ſtudy the Controverſies well, ſo as to be able to defend their Doctrine ſolidly, or that they ſhould ſo mince it, that nothing may fall from them in their *Sermons* againſt *Popery*; this will be indeed a *looking to their Doctrine*, but I do not know whether it will be thought a *looking well to it*, *or not*. He adds, *That their Example be influential*: I confeſs this hard new word frighted me; I ſuppoſe the meaning of it is, That *their Practice may be ſuch as that it may have an Influence on others*; yet there are both good and bad Influences, a good Influence will be the animating the People to a Zeal for their *Religion*, and a *bad one* will be the ſlackning and ſoftning of that Zeal. A little more clearneſs here had not been amiſs.

As

As for the laſt Words of this Letter; *That all theſe are his Majeſty's Commands*; it is very hard for me to bring my ſelf to believe them: For certainly he has more Piety for the Memory of the *late Martyr*, and more regard both to *himſelf*, to his *Children*, and to his *People*, than to have ever given any ſuch Commands.

In order to the communicating this Piece of Elegance to the World, I wiſh the tranſlating it into *French*, were recommended to Mr. *d' Albeville*, that it may appear whether the *Secretary-Stile* will look better in his *Iriſh-French*, than it does now in the *Scotch-Engliſh* of him who penned it.

RELECTIONS

# REFLECTIONS
## ON A
# PAMPHLET
Entitled,

## PARLIAMENTUM PACIFICUM,

Licenſed by the

## EARL of *SUNDERLAND*,

AND

Printed at *London*, in *March*, 1688.

I. PEace is a very deſirable thing, yet every State that is *peaceable* is not blindly to be courted. An Apoplexy is the moſt *peaceable* State in which a Man's Body can be laid: yet few would deſire to pacifie the Humours of their Body at that rate. An *Implicite Faith* and *Abſolute Slavery* are the two peaceableſt things that can be; yet we confeſs, we have no mind to try ſo dangerous an Experiment: and while the Remedies are too ſtrong, we will chuſe rather to

bear our Diſeaſe, than to venture on them. The Inſtance that is propoſed to the Imitation of the Nation, is, that *Parliament* which called in the late *King*; and yet that cannot ſo much as be called a *Parliament*, unleſs it be upon a Commonwealth Principle, That *the Sovereign Power is radically in the People*: For its being choſen without the *King's Writ*, was ſuch an *Eſſential Nullity*, that no ſubſequent Ratification could take it away: For all People ſaw, that they could not depend upon any *Acts* paſt by it; and therefore it was quickly diſſolved: and ever ſince it has been called by all the Monarchical Party, a *Convention*, and not a *Parliament*. But now, in order to the courting the Commonwealth Party, this is not only called a *Parliament*, but is propoſed as a Pattern to all others, from the beginning to Page 19.

II. But ſince this Author will ſend us back to that Time, and ſince he takes it ſo ill that *the Memory of the late King ſhould be forgotten*; let us examine that Tranſaction a little, and then we ſhall ſee whether it had not been more for His *Honour* to let it be *forgotten*. The *King* did indeed in his *Declaration* from *Breda* promiſe *Liberty of Conſcience*, on which he inſiſted in a large and wiſe *Declaration*, ſet out after he was ſetled on the Throne: but after that he had got a *Parliament*, choſen all of Creatures depending on himſelf, who for many years granted him every thing that he deſired, a ſevere *Act of Uniformity* was paſſed; and the King's Promiſe was carried off by this, *That the King could not refuſe to comply with ſo Loyal a Parliament*. It is well enough known, that thoſe who were then ſecretly *Papiſts*, and who diſguiſed their Religion for many Years after this, as the *King* himſelf did to the laſt, animated the *Chief Men* of our *Church* to carry the Points of *Uniformity* as high as was poſſible; and that both then, and ever ſince, all that propoſed any Expedients for uniting us (or, as it was afterwards termed, for *Comprehending the Diſſenters*) were repreſented as *the Betrayers of the Church*. The Deſign was then clear to ſome; that ſo by carrying the Terms of *Conformity* to a great rigidity, there might be many *Nonconformiſts*, and great occaſion

ſion given for a *Toleration*, under which *Popery* might inſenſibly creep in: For if the Expedients that the *King* himſelf propoſed in his *Declaration*, had been ſtood to, it is well known, that of the Two thouſand *Conſciencious Miniſters*, as he calls them, *pag.* 14. by an Affectation too groſs to paſs on them that were turned out, above Seventeen hundred had ſtaid in. Their Practices had but too good Succeſs on thoſe who were then at the Head of our *Church*; whoſe Spirits were too much ſoured by their ill uſage during the War, and whoſe Principles led them to ſo good an Opinion of all that the Court did, that for a great while they would ſuſpect nothing. But at the ſame time that the *Church-Party*, that carried all before them in that *Parliament*, were animated to preſs things ſo hard, the *Diſſenters* were ſecretly encouraged to ſtand out, and were told, that the *King*'s Temper and Principle, and the Conſideration of *Trade*, would certainly procure them a *Toleration*; and ever ſince, that Party that thus had ſet us together by the ears, has ſhifted Sides dexterouſly enough; but ſtill they have carried on the main Deſign, which was to keep up the Quarrel in the Intervals of Parliament. *Liberty of Conſcience* was in vogue; but when a *Seſſion of Parliament* came, and the *King* wanted Money, then a new ſevere Law againſt the *Diſſenters* was offered to the angry Men of the *Church-Party*, as the Price of it; and this ſeldom failed to have its effect: ſo that they were like the *Jewels of the Crown*, pawned when the *King* needed Money, but redeemed at the next Prorogation. A Reflection then that ariſes naturally out of the Proceedings in the Year 1660. is, That if a *Parliament* ſhould come, that would copy after that Pattern, and repeal *Laws* and *Teſts*, the *King*'s Offers of *Liberty of Conſcience*, as may indeed be ſuppoſed, will bind him, till after a ſhort Seſſion or two ſuch a meritorious *Parliament* ſhould be diſſolved, according to the Precedent in the Year 1660. and that a new one were brought together by the ſame Methods of changing Charters, and making Returns; and then the old Laws *de Heretico comburendo* might be again revived, and it would be ſaid, that the King's Inclinations are for keeping his Promiſe, and granting ſtill a *Liberty of Conſcience*; yet he can deny nothing to a Loyal and Catholick *Parliament*.

III. We pay all possible respect to the *King*, and have witnessed how much we depended on his Promises, in so signal a manner, that after such real Evidence, all Words are superfluous. But since the *King* has shewed so much Zeal, not only for his *Religion* in general, but in particular for that *Society*, which of all the other Bodies in it, we know is animated the most against us, we must crave leave to speak a little freely, and not suffer our selves to be destroyed by a Complement. The *Extirpation of Hereticks*, and the *Breach of Faith to them*, have been decreed by two of their General Councils. and by a Tradition of several Ages; the *Pope* is possessed of a *Power of dissolving all Promises, Contracts, and Oaths*; not to mention the private Doctrines of that *Society*, that is so much in favour, of *doing Ill that Good may come of it*, *of using Equivocations and Reservations, and of ordering the Intention.* Now these Opinions, as they have never been renounced by the Body of that *Church*, so indeed they cannot be, unless they renounce their Infallibility, which is their *Basis*, at the same time. Therefore tho a Prince of that Communion may very sincerely resolve to maintain *Liberty of Conscience*, and to *keep his Word*, yet the blind Subjection into which he is brought by his Religion, to his Church, must force him to break thro' all that, as soon as the Doctrine of his Church is opened to him, and that Absolution is denied him, or higher Threatnings are made him, if he continues firm to his merciful Inclinations. So that supposing His Majesty's Piety to be as *great* as the *Jesuit*'s Sermon on the Thirtieth of *January*, lately printed, carries it, to *the uttermost possibility of Flesh and Blood*, then our Fears must still grow upon us, who know what are the Decrees of that *Church*; and by consequence we may infer, to what his Piety must needs carry him, as soon as those things are fully opened to him, which in *respect to him*, we are bound to believe are now hid from him.

IV. It will further appear, that these are not unjust Inferences, if we consider a little what has been the Observation of all the Promises made for *Liberty of Conscience* to Hereticks

Hereticks by *Roman Catholick Princes*, ever ſince the *Reformation*. The firſt was, the *Edict of Paſſaw* in *Germany*, procured chiefly by *Ferdinand*'s means, and maintained indeed religiouſly by his Son *Maximilian* the Second, whoſe Inclinations to the Proteſtant Religion made him be ſuſpected for one himſelf: But the *Jeſuits* inſinuated themſelves ſo far into his younger *Brother*'s Court, that was Archduke of *Grats*, that this was not only broken by that Family, in their Share, but tho' *Rodolph* and *Mathias* were Princes of great Gentleneſs, and the latter of theſe was the Protector of the *States* in the beginning of their War with King *Philip* the Second, yet the Violence with which the Houſe of *Grats* was poſſeſſed, overturned all that: ſo that the breaking of the Pacificatory *Edicts* was begun in *Rodolph*'s time, and was ſo far carried on in *Mathias*'s time, that they ſet both *Bohemia* and *Hungary* in a Flame, and ſo begun that long War of *Germany*. 2. The next Promiſe for *Liberty of Conſcience* was made by Queen *Mary* of *England*; but we know well enough how it was obſerved: the Promiſes made by the Queen *Regent* of *Scotland*, were obſerved with the ſame Fidelity. After theſe came the Pacificatory *Edicts* in *France*, which were ſcarce made when the *Triumvirate* was formed to break them. The famous *Maſſacre of Paris* was an Inſtance never to be forgot, of the Religious Obſervance of a Treaty, made on purpoſe to lay the Party aſleep, and to bring the whole Heads of it into the Net; this was a much more *dreadful St. Bartholomew*, than that on which our Author beſtows that Epithete, *pag.* 15. and when all ſeemed ſetled by the famous *Edict* of *Nantes*, we have ſeen how reſtleſs that Party, and in particular the *Society*, were, till it was broken by a Prince, that for thirty years together had ſhewed as great an averſion to the *Shedding of Blood* in his Government at home, as any of his Neighbours can pretend to; and who has done nothing in the whole Tragedy that he has acted, but what is exactly conform to the Doctrine and Decrees of his Church: ſo that is not *himſelf*, but *his Religion*, that we muſt blame for all that has fallen out in that Kingdom. I cannot leave this, without taking notice

of

of our Author's Sincerity, who pag. 18. tells us of the *Proteſtants entring into their League in France*, when it is well known that it was a *League of Papiſts againſt a Proteſtant Succeſſor*, which was afterwards applied to a *Popiſh King*, only becauſe he was not zealous enough againſt *Hereticks*. But to end this Liſt of Inſtances at a Country to which our Author bears ſo particular a kindneſs; when the Dutcheſs of *Parma* granted the *Edict* of Pacification, by which all that was paſt was buried, and the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion was to be connived at for the future; King *Philip* the Second did not only ratifie this, but expreſſed himſelf ſo fully upon it to the Count of *Egmont*, who had been ſent over to him, that the eaſie *Count* returned to *Flanders* ſo aſſured of the *King*'s Sincerity, that he endeavoured to perſwade all others to rely as much on his Word, as he himſelf did. It is well known how fatal this Confidence was to him, and (ſee *Meteren.* lib. 3.) that two years after this that *King* ſent over the Duke of *Alva*, with that ſevere Commiſſion which has been often printed, in which, without any regard had to the former Pacification or Promiſes, the *King* declared, *that the Provinces had forfeited all their Liberties, and that every man in it had forfeited his life*; and therefore he authoriſed that *unmerciful Man* to proceed with all poſſible Rigour againſt them. It is alſo remarkable, that that bloody Commiſſion is founded on the King's *Abſolute Power*, and his Zeal for Religion. This is the only *Edict* that I know, in which a *King* has pretended to *Abſolute Power*, before the *two Declarations* for *Scotland* in the year 1687. ſo whether they who penned them took their Pattern from this, I cannot determine it. I could carry this view of Hiſtory much further, to ſhew in many more Inſtances, how little *Proteſtants* can depend on the Faith of *Roman Catholicks*, and that their Condition is ſo much the worſe, the more pious that their Princes are. As for what may be objected to all this, from the preſent State of ſome Principalities or Towns in *Germany*, or of the *Switzers* and *Griſons*; it is to be conſidered, that in ſome of theſe, want of Power in the

*Roman*

*Roman Catholicks* to do miſchief, and the other Circumſtances of their Affairs, are viſibly the only Securities of the *Proteſtants*; and whenſoever this Nation departs from that, and gives up the *Laws*, it is no hard thing to gueſs how ſhort-lived the *Liberty of Conſcience*, even tho' ſetled into a *Magna Charta*, would be.

V. All that our Author ſays upon the General Subject of *Liberty of Conſcience*, is only a ſevere Libel upon that *Church*, whoſe Principles and Practices are ſo contrary to it. But the Propoſition lately made, has put an end to all this Diſpute; ſince by an Offer of Repealing the *Penal Laws*, reſerving only thoſe of the *Teſt*, and ſuch others as ſecure the *Proteſtant Religion*, the queſtion is now no more, which Religion muſt be *tolerated*, but which Religion muſt *reign* and prevail. All that is here offered in Oppoſition to that, is, that by this means *ſuch a number of Perſons muſt be ruined*, Pag. 64. *which is as ſevere a way of forcing People to change their Religion, as the way of Dragoons.* I will not examine the particulars of this matter, but muſt expreſs my joy to find, that all the Difficulty which is in our way to a happy quiet, is the ſupplying ſuch a number of men with the means of their ſubſiſtance, which by the Execution of the *Law* for the *Teſt*, muſt be taken from them. This by all that I can learn, will not come to near an Hundred Thouſand Pound a year; and indeed the ſupplying of thoſe of the *King*'s Religion, that want it, is a piece of Charity and Bounty ſo worthy of him, that I do not know a man that would envy them the double of this in Penſions: and if ſuch a Sum would a little charge the *King*'s Revenue, I dare ſay, when the Settlement of the Nation is brought to that ſingle point, there would not be one Negative found in either *Houſe of Parliament*, for the reimburſing the *King*: So far are we from deſiring either the Deſtruction, or even the Poverty of thoſe that perhaps wait only for an occaſion to burn us. I will add one bold thing further, that tho' I will be no undertaker for what a *Parliament* may do, yet I am confident that all men are ſo far from any deſire of Revenge, but moſt

of

of all, that the *Heroical Minds* of the *next Succeſſors* are above it; that if an *Indemnity* for that bold violation of the *Law* that has been of late both practiſed and authoriſed among us, would procure a full Settlement, even this could be obtained, tho' an Impunity after ſuch Tranſgreſſions, is perhaps too great an Encouragement to offend for the future. But ſince it is the Preſervation of the Nation, and not the ruine of any party in it, that is aimed at, the Hardineſs of this Propoſition will, I hope, be forgiven me. It is urged, pag. 63. that according to the *Dutch* Pattern at leaſt the *Roman Catholicks* may have a ſhare in Military Employments; but the difference between our Caſe and theirs, is clear; ſince ſome *Roman Catholick Officers*, where the Government is wholly in the Hands of of *Proteſtants*, cannot be of ſuch dangerous Conſequence as it muſt needs be under a *King* that is not only of that Perſwaſion, but is become nearly allied to the *Society*, as the *Liege Letter* tells us.

VI. It is true, our Author would perſwade us, that the *King*'s diſpenſing Power has already put an end to the Diſpute, and that therefore it is a *ſeeming ſort of Perjury*, ſee pag. 48. *to keep the Juſtices of Peace ſtill under an Oath of executing thoſe Laws*, which they muſt conſider no more. Some Preſidents are brought from former times, pag. 22, 23, 24. of our *Kings* uſing the diſpenſing Power in *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Seventh, *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s time. It is very true, that the *Laws* have been of late broke through among us with a very high hand, but it is a little too dangerous to upbraid the *Juſtices of Peace* with their *Oaths*, leſt this oblige them to reflect on ſo ſacred an Engagement; for the worthy Members of *Magdalen Colledge* are not the only Perſons in *England*, who will make Conſcience of obſerving their *Oaths*; ſo that if others are brought to reflect too much on what they do, our Author's Officiouſneſs in ſuggeſting this to them, may prove to be no acceptable piece of ſervce. I will not examine all his Preſidents;

ſidents; we are to be governed by *Law*, and not by ſome of the *exceſſes of Government*; nor is the latter end of *Edward* the Third a time to be much imitated: and of all the parts of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, *Richard* the Second's Reign ſhould be the leaſt mentioned, ſince thoſe *exceſſes* of his produced ſo Tragical a Concluſion as the loſs of *his* Crown and Life. *Henry* the Sixth's feeble and imbroiled Reign will ſcarce ſupport an Argument; and if there were ſome *exceſſes* in *Henry* the Eighth's time, which is ordinary in all great Revolutions, he got all theſe to be either warranted, or afterwards confirmed in *Parliament*. And Q. *Elizabeth*'s Power in Eccleſiaſtical matters was founded on a ſpecial *Act of Parliament*, which was in a great meaſure repealed in the year 1641. and that Repeal was again ratified by another *Act* in the late *King*'s time. We are often told of the late *King*'s repealing the *Act* concerning the Siſe of *Carts* and *Waggons*; but all Lawyers know that ſome *Laws* are underſtood to be *abrogated* without a ſpecial *Repeal*, when ſome viſible Inconvenience enforces it; ſuch as appeared in that miſtaken *Act* concerning *Waggons*; ſo the *King* in that caſe only declared the Inconvenience which made that *Law* to be of it ſelf null becauſe it was impracticable. It is true, the *Parliament* never queſtioned this; a man would not be offended if another pulled a Flower in his Garden, that yet would take it ill if he broke his Hedge: and in *Holland*, to which our Author's Pen leads him often, when a River changes its courſe, any man may break the *Dike* that was made to reſiſt it, yet that will be no warrant to go and break the Dike that reſiſts the Current of the ſame River: So if a diſpenſing Power, when applied to ſmaller Offences, has been paſſed over, as an *exceſs of Government*, that might be excuſable, tho' not juſtifiable, this will by no means prove, that *Laws* made to ſecure us againſt that which we eſteem the *greateſt of Evils* may be ſuperſeded, becauſe *twelve Men* in *Scarlet* have been hired or practiſed on to ſay ſo; the Power of *pardoning* is alſo unreaſonably urged for juſtifying the *Diſpenſing Power*; the one is a Grace to a particular Perſon for a Crime committed, whereas the other is a warrant to commit Crimes. In

ſhort, the one is a Power to *ſave Men*, and the other is a Power to *deſtroy the Government*. But tho' they ſwagger it out now with the *Diſpenſing Power*, yet *rode caper vitem* may come to be again in ſeaſon; and a time may come, in which the whole Party will have reaſon to wiſh that ſome hair-brained *Jeſuits* had never been born, who will rather expoſe them not only to the Reſentments, but even to the Juſtice of another ſeaſon, in which as little regard will be had to the *Diſpenſing Power*, as they have to the *Laws* at preſent, then accept of reaſonable Propoſitions.

VII. Our Author's Kindneſs to the *States of Holland*, is very particular, and returns often upon him; and it is no wonder that a *State* ſetled upon two ſuch Hinges, as the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *publick Liberty*, ſhould be no ſmall Eye ſore to thoſe who intend to deſtroy both. So that the ſlackning the *Laws* concerning *Religion*, and the invading that *State*, ſeem to be Terms that muſt always go together. In the firſt War began the firſt ſlackning of them; and after the *Triple Alliance* had laid the *Dutch* aſleep, when the ſecond War was reſolved on, which began with that Heroical Attempt on the *Smyrna Fleet*, (for our Author will not have the late *King*'s Actions to be *forgotten*) at the ſame time the famous *Declaration* ſuſpending the *Laws* in 1672. came out; and now again, with another *Declaration* to the ſame purpoſe, we ſee a return of the ſame good Inclinations for the *Dutch*, tho' none before our Author has ever ventured in a Book licenſed by my Lord *Preſident* of the *Council*, to call that Conſtitution, pag. 68. *A Revolt that they made from that lawful Prince*; and to raiſe his ſtile to a more ſublime Strain, he ſays, pag. 66. *That their Commonwealth is only the Reſult of an abſolute Rebellion, Revolt, and Deſection from their Prince*; *and that the Laws that they have made, were to prevent any caſual return to their natural Allegiance.* And ſpeaking of their Obligation to protect a Naturalized Subject, he beſtows this Honour on them, as to ſay, pag. 57, 58. *Thoſe that never yet dealt ſo fairly with Princes*

*Princes, may be ſuſpected for ſuch a ſuperfluous Faith to one that puts himſelf upon them for a Vaſſal.* Time will ſhew how far the States will reſent theſe Injuries; only it ſeems our Author thinks, that a Soveraign's Faith to protect the Subject, is a *ſuperfluous thing*; a Faith to Hereticks is another *ſuperfluous thing*; ſo that two Superfluities, one upon another, muſt be all that we are to truſt to. But I muſt take notice of the variety of Methods that theſe Gentlemen uſe in their Writings. Here in *England* we are always upbraided with the *Revolt of the Dutch*, as a ſcandalous Imputation on the *Proteſtant Religion*; and yet in a late Paper, entituled, *An Anſwer to Penſioner Fagel's Letter*, the Services that the *Roman Catholicks* did in the beginning of that Commonwealth, are highly extolled as ſignal and meritorious; upon which the Writer makes great Complaints, That the *Pacification of Gaunt*, and the *Union at Utrecht*, by which the free Exerciſe of their Religion was to be continued to them, was not obſerved in moſt of the *Provinces*: But if he had taken pains to examine the Hiſtory of the *States*, he would have found, that ſoon after the *Union* made at *Utrecht*, the Treaty at *Colln* was ſet on foot, between the King of *Spain* and the *States*, by the *Emperor*'s Mediation, in which the *Spaniars* ſtudied to divide the *Roman Catholicks* of theſe *Provinces* from the *Proteſtants*, by offering a Confirmation of all the other *Priviledges* of theſe *Provinces*, excepting only the Point of *Religion*, which had ſo great an Effect, that the Party of the *Malcontents* was formed upon it; and theſe did quickly capitulate in the *Walloon Provinces*; and after that not only *Barbant* and *Flanders* capitulated, but *Reenenburgh* that was Governour of *Groening*, declared for the King of *Spain*, and by ſome Places that he took both in *Friſeland* and *Overyſſel*, he put theſe *Provinces* under Contribution. Not long after that, both *Deventer* and *Zutphen* were betrayed by *Popiſh* Governours; and the War was thus brought within the *Seven* Provinces, that had been be-

fore kept at a greater distance from them. Thus it did appear almost every where, that the hatred with which the *Priests* were inspiring the *Roman Catholicks* against the *Protestants*, disposed them to betray all again to the *Spanish* Tyranny. The new War that *Reenenburgh's* Treachery had brought into these *Provinces*, changed so the State of Affairs, that no wonder if this produced a change likewise with relation to that Religion, since it appeared, that these Revolts were carried on, and justified upon the Principles of that *Church*; and the general Hatred under which these Revolts brought the *Roman Catholicks* in those *Out Provinces*, made the greater part of them to withdraw; so that there were not left such numbers of them as to pretend to the free Exercise of their Religion. But the War not having got into *Holland* and *Utrecht*, and none of that Religion having revolted in those Provinces, the *Roman Catholicks* continued still in the Country; and tho' the ill Inclinations that they shewed, made it necessary for the publick Safety, to put them out of the Government, yet they have still enjoyed the common Rights of the Country, with the free Exercise of their Religion. But it is plain, that some men are only waiting an opportunity to renew the old *Delenda est Carthago*, and that they think it is no small step to it, to possess all the World with odious Impressions of the *Dutch*, as a *rebellious and perfidious State*; and if it were possible, they would even make their own *Roman Catholick* Subjects fancy that they are persecuted by them: But tho' men may be brought to believe *Transubstantiation*, in spite of the Evidence of Sense to the contrary, yet those that feel themselves at ease, will hardly be brought to think that they are persecuted, because they are told so in an ill-writ *Pamphlet*. And for their Rebellion, the *Prince*, that is only concerned in that, finds them now to be his *best Allies*, and *chief Supports*, as his Predecessors acknowledged them a *Free State*, almost an Age ago. And it being confessed by the Historians of all sides, That there was an express Proviso

viſo in the Conſtitution of their Government, *That if their Prince broke ſuch and ſuch Limits, they were no more bound to obey him, but might reſiſt him*; and it being no leſs certain, that King *Philip* the Second authoriſed the the Duke of *Alva* to ſeiſe upon all their Priviledges, their reſiſting him, and maintaining their Priviledges, was without all Diſpute, a juſtifiabble Action, and was ſo eſteemed by all the *States* of *Europe*, and in particular here in *England*, as appears by the *Preambles* of ſeveral *Acts of Subſidy* that were given the *Queen* in order to the aſſiſting the *States*; and as for their *not dealing fairly with Princes*, when our Author can find ſuch an Inſtance in their Hiſtory, as our Attempt upon their *Smyrna Fleet* was, he may employ his Eloquence in ſetting it out; and if notwithſtanding all the Failures that they have felt from others, they have ſtill maintained the Publick Faith, our Author's Rhetorick will hardly blemiſh them. The Peace of *Nimmegen*, and the abandoning of *Luxemburgh*, are perhaps the ſingle Inſtances in their Hiſtory that need to be a little excuſed. But as the vaſt Expence of the late War brought them into a Neceſſity that either knows no Law, or at leaſt will hearken to none; ſo we, who forced them to both, and firſt ſold the *Triple Alliance*, and then let go *Luxemburgh*, do with a very ill grace reproach the *Dutch* for theſe unhappy ſteps to which our Conduct drove them.

VIII. If a ſtrain of pert bolneſs runs thro this whole *Pamphlet*, it appears no where more eminently, than in the *Reflections* the Author makes on Mr. *Fagel's Letter*: He calls it, pag. 62. a *pretended Piece*, and a *Preſumption not to be ſoon pardoned, in prefixing to a ſurreptitious and unauthoriſed Pamphlet the Reverend Name of the Princeſs of* Orange; which in another place (Page 72.) he had reaſon to imagine, was *but a Counterfeit Coin, and that thoſe Venerable Characters were but politically feigned, and a Sacred Title given to it without their Authority.*

*thority.* All this coming out with so solemn a License, has made me take some pains to be rightly informed in this matter; those whom I consulted, tell me, they have discoursed the *Pensioner* himself on this Subject, who will very shortly take a sure Method to clear himself of those Imputations; and to do that right to the *Prince* and *Princess*, as to shew the World, that in this matter he acted only by their Order. For as Mr. *Stewart*'s Letter drew the *Pensioner*'s Answer from him, so this Paper, *licensed as it is*, will now draw from him a particular Recital of the whole Progress of this Matter. Mr. *Albeville* knows, that the *Princess* explained her self so fully to him in the Month of *May* and *June*, 1687. upon the Repeal of the *Test*, that he himself has acknowledged to several Persons, that though both the *Prince* and *Princess* were very stiff in that matter, yet of the two, he found the *Princess* more inflexible. Afterwards when Mr. *Stewart*, by many repeated Letters, pressed his Friend to renew his Importunities to the *Pensioner* for an Answer; he having also said in his *Letters*, That he writ by the *King's Order* and Direction: Upon this, the *Pensioner* having consulted the *Prince* and *Princess*, drew his Letter first in *Dutch*, and communicated it to them; and it being approved by them, he turned it into *Latine:* but because it was to be shewed to the *King*, he thought it was fit to get it to be put in *English*, that so their *Highnesses* might see that Translation of his *Letter*, which was to be offered to His Majesty; and

and they having approved of it, he ſent it with his own in *Latine*, and it was delivered to the *King*. This Account was given me by my Friend, who added, that it would appear e're long in a more Authentical manner. And by this I ſuppoſe the Impudence of thoſe men does ſufficiently appear, who have the Brow to publiſh ſuch Stuff, of the Falſhood of which they themſelves are well aſſured: And therefore I may well conclude, that my Lord Preſident's *Licenſe* was granted by him, with that Careleſneſs with which moſt Books are read and licenſed. Our Author pretends, that he cannot believe that this *Letter* could flow from a *Princeſs* of *ſo ſweet a Temper*, pag. 62. and yet others find ſo much of the *Sweetneſs* of her *Temper* in it, that for that very reaſon they believe it the more eaſily to have come from her. No Paſſion or indiſcreet Zeal appears in it; and it expreſſes ſuch an extended Charity and Nobleneſs of Temper, that theſe Characters ſhew it comes from one that has neither a narrowneſs of Soul, nor a ſourneſs of Spirit. In ſhort, She propoſes nothing in it, but to preſerve that *Religion* which ſhe believes the *true one*; and that being ſecured, ſhe is willing that all others enjoy all the *Liberties of Subjects*, and the *Freedoms of Chriſtians*. Here is *Sweetneſs of Temper* and *Chriſtian Charity* in their fulleſt extent. The other Reaſon is ſo myſteriouſly expreſſed, that I will not wrong our Author by putting it in any other words than his own, pag.

pag. 62. *She is certainly as little pleased to promote any thing to the Disturbance of a State, to which she still seems so nearly related.* She *seems still*, are two significant Words, and not set here for nothing. *She seems* (in his Opinion) only *related* to the *Crown*; that is, She is not really so: but there is something that these Gentlemen have in reserve to blow up this *seeming* Relation. And She *seems still*, imports, that though this apparent Relation is suffered to pass at present, yet it must have its Period; for this *seems still*, can have no other meaning. But in what does She promote the *Disturbance of the State*, or *Patronise the Opposers of her Parents?* as he says afterwards (ibid.) Did She officiously interpose in this matter, or was not her Sense asked? And when it was asked, must She not give it according to her Conscience? She is too perfect a Pattern in all other things, not to know well how great a *Respect* and *Submission* She owes her *Father*: but She is too good a Christian, not to know that her Duty to God must go first: And therefore in matters of *Religion*, when Her Mind was asked, She could not avoid the giving it according to her Conscience; and all the invidious Expressions which he fastens on this *Letter*, and which he makes so many Arguments to shew that it could not flow from Her, are all the malicious and soon-discovered Artifices of one that knew that She had ordered the *Letter*, and that thought himself safe in this Disguise, in the discharging of his

his Malice againſt her. So ingratefully is ſhe required by a Party for whom ſhe had expreſſed ſo much Compaſſion and Charity. This Author, *Pag.* 53. thinks it is an *indecent forecaſt to be always erecting ſuch Schemes for the next Heir, both in Diſcourſe and Writing, as ſeem almoſt to calculate the Nativity of the preſent:* and he would almoſt make this *High-Treaſon.* But if it is ſo, there were many *Traitors* in *England* a few Years ago; in which the *next Heir,* though but a *Brother,* was ſo much conſidered, that the King himſelf look'd as one out of Countenance and abandoned, and could ſcarce find Company enough about him for his Entertainment, either in his Bed-Chamber or in his Walks; when the whole Dependance was on the *Succeſſor:* ſo if we by turns look a little at the *Succeſſor,* thoſe who did this in ſo ſcandalous a manner, ought not to take it ſo very ill from us. In a melancholy State of things, it is hard to deny us the Conſolation of hoping that we may ſee *better Days.* But ſince our Author is ſo much concerned, that this *Letter* ſhould not be in any manner imputed to the *Princeſs,* it ſeems a little ſtrange, that the *Prince* is ſo given up by him, that he is at no pains to clear him of the Imputation. For the happy Union that is between them, will readily make us conclude, that if the *Prince* ordered it, the *Princeſs* had likewiſe her ſhare in it. I find but one glance at the *Prince* in the whole Book, *Pag.* 52. when the Author is pleaſing himſelf with the hopes of Protection from the *Royal Heir* out of a ſenſe of *Filial Duty:* He concludes, *Eſpecially when ſo nearly allied to the very Boſom of a Prince whoſe way of Worſhip neither is the ſame with the National here, and in whoſe Countries all Religions have been ever alike tolerated.* The Phraſe of *ſo near an Alliance to the very Boſom of a Prince,* is ſomewhat extraordinary: An Author that will be florid, ſcorns ſo ſimple an Expreſſion as *married*; he thought the other was more lofty. But the matter of this Period is more remarkable: it intimates as if the *Prince*'s way of Worſhip was ſo different from ours; tho we hear that he goes frequently with the *Princeſs* to her Chappel: and expreſſes no averſion to any of our Forms, tho he thinks it decent to be more conſtantly in the Exerciſes of Devotion that are authoriſed in *Holland.* And as for that, that *all Religions have been ever alike tolerated there,* it is another of our

Author's flights. I do not hear that there are either *Bonzis* or *Bramans* in *Holland*, or that the *Mahometans* have their *Mosques* there: And sure his Friends the *Roman Catholicks* will tell him, that *all Religions* are not *alike tolerated there*. Thus I have followed him more largely in this Article, than in any other, it being that of the greatest Importance, by which he had endeavoured to blast all the good effects which the *Pensioners Letter* has had among us.

IX. I have now gone over that, which I thought most important in this Paper: and in which it seemed necessary to inform the Publick aright, without insisting on the particular Slips of the Author of it, or of the Advantages that he gives to any that would answer him more particularly. I cannot think that any Man in the Nation can be now so weak, as not to see what must needs be the effect of the Abolition of the *Test*: after all that we see and hear, it is too great an Affront to Mankind to offer to make it out. A Man's Understanding may really mislead him so far as to make him change his *Religion*, he remaining still an *honest Man*; but no Man can pretend to be thought an *honest Man*, that betrays the legal, and now the only visible Defences of that *Religion* which he professes. The taking away the *Test* for publick Employments, is to set up an Office at Father *Peter*'s for all Pretenders; and perhaps a Pretender will not be so much as received, till he has first abjured; so that every Vacancy will probably make five or six Profelites; and those *Protestants* who are already in Employments, will feel their ground quickly fail under them, and upon the first Complaint, they will see what must be done to restore them to favour. And as for the two Houses of *Parliament*, as a great *Creation* will presently give them the Majority in the House of *Lords*; so a new set of *Charters*, and bold *Returns*, will in a little time give them likewise the Majority in the House of *Commons*: and if it is to be supposed that *Protestants*, who have all the Security of the *Law* for their *Religion*, can throw that up; who can so much as doubt that when they have brought themselves into so naked a condition, it will be no hard thing to overturn their whole Establishment? and then perhaps we shall be told more plainly what is now but darkly insinuated to us by this Author; that the next Heir *seems still to be so nearly related to this State*.

A N

# AN APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH of *ENGLAND*, With Relation to the Spirit of PERSECUTION, For which She is accuſed.

I. ONE ſhould think that the Behaviour of the *Engliſh Clergy* for ſome Years paſt, and the preſent Circumſtances in which they are, ſhould ſet them beyond *Slander*, and by conſequence above *Apologies*; yet ſince the Malice of her Enemies works againſt her with ſo much *Spight*, and ſince there is no Inſinuation that carries ſo much Malice in it, and that ſeems to have ſuch colours of Truth on it, as this of their having ſet on a ſevere *Perſecution* againſt the *Diſſenters*, of being ſtill ſour'd with that Leaven, and of carrying the ſame implacable Hatred to them, which the preſent Reputation that they have gained may put them in a further capacity of executing, if another Revolution of Affairs ſhould again give them Authority ſet about it; it ſeems neceſſary to examine it, and that the rather, becauſe ſome aggravate this ſo far, as if nothing were now to be ſo much dreaded as the Church of *England*'s getting out of her preſent Diſtreſs.

II. If theſe Imputations were charged on us only by thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, we ſhould not much wonder at it; for though it argues a good degree of Confidence for any of

that Communion to declaim againſt the Severities that have been put in Practice among us, ſince their *little Finger muſt be heavier than ever our Loins* were, and to whoſe *Scorpions* our *Rods* ought not to be compared; yet after all, we are ſo much accuſtomed to their Methods, that nothing from them can ſurpriſe us. To hear *Papiſts* declare againſt Perſecution, and *Jeſuits* cry up Liberty of Conſcience, are, we confeſs, unuſual things: yet there are ſome degrees of Shame, over which when People are once paſſed, all things become ſo familiar to them, that they can no more be put out of countenance. But it ſeems very ſtrange to us, that ſome, who if they are to be believed, are ſtrict to the ſevereſt Forms and Sub-diviſions of the Reformed Religion, and who ſome Years ago were jealous of the ſmalleſt ſteps that the Court made, when the danger was more remote, and who cried out *Popery* and *Perſecution*, when the deſign was ſo mask'd, that ſome well-meaning Men could not miſs being deceived by the Promiſes that were made, and the Diſguiſes that were put on; that, I ſay, theſe very Perſons who were formerly ſo diſtruſtful, ſhould now, when the Mask is laid off, and the Deſign is avowed, of a ſudden grow to be ſo believing, as to throw off all Diſtruſt, and be ſo gulled as to betray all; and to expoſe us to the Rage of thoſe, who muſt needs give ſome good words, till they have gone the round, and tried how effectually they can divide and deceive us, that ſo they may deſtroy us the more eaſily; this is indeed ſomewhat extraordinary. They are not ſo ignorant as not to know, that Popery cannot change its Nature, and that *Cruelty and Breach of Faith to Hereticks*, are as neceſſary parts of that Religion, as *Tranſubſtantiation* and the *Pope's Supremacy* are. If Papiſts were not Fools, they muſt give good Words and fair Promiſes, till by theſe they have ſo far deluded the poor credulous Hereticks, that they may put themſelves in a poſture to execute the Decrees of their Church againſt them; and though we accuſe that Religion as guilty both of *Cruelty* and *Treachery*, yet we do not think them Fools: ſo till their Party is ſtronger than God be thanked it is at preſent, they can take no other method than that they take. The Church of *England* was the Word among them ſomſt Years ago, *Liberty of Conſcieece* is the Word at preſent;

and

and we have all poſſible reaſon to aſſure us, that the Promiſes for maintaining the one, will be as religiouſly kept as we ſee thoſe are which were lately made with ſo great a profuſion of Proteſtations, and ſhews of Friendſhip for the ſupporting of the other.

III. It were great Injuſtice to charge all the *Diſſenters* with the Impertinencies that have appeared in many Addreſſes of late, or to take our meaſures of them, from the impudent ſtrains of an *Aſſop* or a *Care*, or from the more important and now more viſible ſteps that ſome among them of a higher form are every day making; and yet after all this, it cannot be denied but the ſeveral Bodies of the *Diſſenters* have behaved themſelves of late like Men, that underſtand too well the true Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Engliſh Government, to ſacrifice the whole and themſelves in Concluſion to their private Reſentments: I hope the ſame Juſtice will be allowed me in ſtating the matter relating to the ſo much decried Perſecution ſet on by the Church of *England*; and that I may be ſuffered to diſtinguiſh the Heats of ſome angry and deluded Men, from the Doctrine of the Church, and the Practices that have been authorized in it; that ſo I may ſhew, that there is no reaſon to infer from paſt Errors, that we are incurable; or that new Opportunities inviting us again into the ſame Severities, are like to prevail over us to commit the ſame Follies over again. I will firſt ſtate what is paſt, with the Sincerity that becomes one that would not *lie for God*; that is not afraid nor aſhamed to confeſs Faults that will neither aggravate nor extenuate them beyond what is juſt, and that yet will avoid the ſaying of any thing that may give any cauſe of Offence to any Party in the Nation.

IV. I am very ſorry that I muſt confeſs, that all the Parties among us, have ſhewed, that as their turn came to be uppermoſt, they have forgot the ſame Principles of Moderation and Liberty which they all claimed when they were oppreſſed. If it ſhould ſhew too much ill nature to examine what the *Presbytery* did in *Scotland* when the *Covenant* was in Dominion, or what the *Independents* have done in *New-England*; why may not

not I claim the ſame privileg with relation to the Church of *England*, if Severities have been committed by her while ſhe bore Rule? yet it were as eaſy as it would be invidious to ſhew, that both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* have carried the Principle of Rigor in the point of Conſcience much higher, and have acted more implacably upon it than ever the Church of *England* has done, even in its angrieſt fits; ſo that none of them can much reproach another for their Exceſſes in thoſe matters. And as of all the *Religions* in the World the Church of *Rome* is the moſt perſecuting, and the moſt bound by her Principles to be unalterably cruel; ſo the Church of *England* is the leaſt perſecuting in her Principles, and the leaſt obliged to repeat any Errors to which the Intrigues of Courts, or the Paſſions incident to all Parties may have engaged her, of any National Church in *Europe*. It cannot be ſaid to be any part of our Doctrine, when we came out of one of the blackeſt Perſecutions that is in Hiſtory, I mean Queen *Mary*'s, we ſhewed how little we retained of the Cruelty of that Church, which had provoked us ſo ſeverely; when not only no Inquiries were made into the illegal Acts of Fury, that were committed in that perſecuting Reign, but even the Perſecutors themſelves lived among us at Eaſe and in Peace; and no *Penal Law* was made except againſt the publick Exerciſe of that Religion, till a great many Rebellions and Treaſons extorted them from us for our own Preſervation. This is an Inſtance of the Clemency of our Church, that perhaps cannot be matched in Hiſtory: and why ſhould it not be ſuppoſed, that if God ſhould again put us in the ſtate in which we were of late, that we ſhould rather imitate ſo noble a Patern, than return to thoſe Miſtakes of which we are now aſhamed?

V. It is to be conſidered, that upon the late King's Reſtauration, the remembrance of the former War, the ill uſage that our Clergy had met with in their *Sequeſtrations*, the angry Reſentments of the Cavalier Party, who were ruined by the War; the Intereſt of the Court to have all thoſe Principles condemned that had occaſioned it; the heat that all Parties that have been ill-uſed are apt to fall into upon a Revolution; but above all, the Practices of thoſe who have ſtill blown the

Coals, and ſet us one againſt another, that ſo they might not only have a divided Force to deal with, but might, by turns, make the Diviſions among us ſerve their Ends: All theſe, I ſay, concurred to make us loſe the happy Opportunity that was offered in the Year 1660, to have healed all our Diviſions, and to have triumphed over all the *Diſſenters*; not by ruining them, but by overcoming them with a Spirit of Love and Gentleneſs; which is the only Victory that a Generous and Chriſtian Temper can deſire. In ſhort, unhappy Counſels were followed, and ſevere Laws were made: But after all, it was the Court Party that carried it for rougher Methods. Some conſiderable Accidents, not neceſſary to be here mentioned, as they ſtopped the Mouths of ſome that had formed a wiſer Project, ſo they gave a fatal Advantage to angry and crafty Men, that to our misfortune, had too great a ſtroak in the conduct of our Affairs at that Time. This Spirit of Severity was heightned by the Practices of the *Papiſts*, who engaged the late King in *December* 1662, to give a Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*. Thoſe who knew the Secret of his Religion, as they ſaw that it aimed at the Introduction of *Popery*, ſo they thought there was no way ſo effectual for the keeping out of *Popery*, as the maintaining the Uniformity, and the ſuppreſſing of all Deſigns for a Toleration. But while thoſe who managed this, uſed a due reſerve, in not diſcovering the ſecret Motive that led them to it; others flew into Severity, as the Principle in vogue: And thus all the ſlacknings of the rigour of the Laws, during the firſt *Dutch* War, that were ſet on upon the pretence of quieting the Nation, and of encouraging Trade, were reſiſted by the Inſtruments of an honeſt *Miniſter of State*, who knew as well then, as we do now, what lay ſtill at bottom, when *Liberty of Conſcience* was pretended.

VI. Upon that Miniſter's Diſgrace, ſome that ſaw but the half of the Secret, perceiving in the Court a great inclination to Toleration, and being willing to take Meaſures quite different from thoſe of the former Miniſtry, they entred into a Treaty for a *Comprehenſion of ſome Diſſenters, and the tolerating of others*; And ſome Biſhops and Clergy-men, that were inferior to none of the Age in which they lived, for true Worth and a right

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Judgment of Things, engaged so far, and with so much success into this Project, that the Matter seemed done, all things being concerted among some of the most considerable Men of the different Parties. But the dislike of that Ministry, and the Jealousy of the ill Designs of the Court, gave so strong a Prejudice against this, that the Proposition could not be so much as hearkned to by the House of Commons: And then it appeared how much the whole *Popish Party* was allarmed at the Project: It is well known with how much Detestation they speak of it to this day; though we are now so fully satisfied of their Intentions to destroy us, that the Zeal which they pretended for us, in opposing that Design, can no more pass upon us.

VII. At last, in the Year 1672. the Design for *Popery* discovering it self, the End that the Court had in favouring a Toleration became more visible: And when the Parliament met, that condemned the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, the Members of the House of Commons, that either were Dissenters, or that favoured them, behaved themselves so worthily in concurring with those of the Church of *England*, for stifling that Toleration, chusing rather to lose the benefit of it, than to open a Breach at which *Popery* should come in, that many of the Members that were of the Church of *England* promised to procure them a Bill of *Ease for Protestant Dissenters*. But the Session was not long enough for bringing that to Perfection; and all the Sessions of that Parliament after that, were spent in such a continual struggle between the Court and Country-Party, that there was never room given for calm and wise Consultations: yet though the Party of the Church of *England* did not perform what had been promised by some leading Men to the Dissenters, there was little or nothing done against them, after that, till the Year 1681, so that for about nine Years together they had their Meetings almost as publickly and as regularly as the Church of *England* had their Churches, and in all that time, whatsoever particular Hardships any of them might have met with in some corners of *England*, it cannot be denied but they had the free Exercise of their Religion, at least in most parts.

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VIII. In

VIII. In the Year 1678, things began to change their face: it is known that upon the breaking out of the *Popiſh Plot*, the Clergy did univerſally expreſs a great deſire for coming to ſome temper in the Points of Conformity: all ſorts and ranks of the Clergy ſeemed to be ſo well diſpoſed towards it, that if it had met with a ſutable Entertainment, matters might probably have been in a great meaſure compoſed. But the Jealouſy that thoſe who managed the Civil Concerns of the Nation in the Houſe of Commons, took off all that was done at Court, or propoſed by it, occaſioned a fatal Breach in our Publick Councils: in which diviſion, the Clergy by their Principles and Intereſts, and their Diſpoſition to believe well of the Court, were determined to be of the King's ſide. They thought it was a Sin to miſtruſt the late King's Word, who aſſured them of his ſteadineſs to the Proteſtant Religion ſo often, that they firmly depended on it: and his preſent Majeſty gave them ſo many Aſſurances of his maintaining ſtill the Church of *England*, that they believed him likewiſe: and ſo thought that the Excluſion of him from the Crown, was a degree of Rigor to which they in Conſcience could not conſent: upon which they were generally cried out on, as the Betrayers of the Nation and of the Proteſtant Religion: Thoſe who demanded the Excluſion, and ſome other Securities, to which the Biſhops would not conſent in Parliament, looked on them as the chief hinderance that was in their way: and the Licenſe of the Preſs at that time was ſuch, that many Libels, and ſome ſevere Diſcourſes were publiſhed againſt them. Nor can it be denied, that many Church-men, who underſtood not the Principles of Human Society, and the Rules of our Government, ſo well as other Points of Divinity, writ ſeveral Treatiſes concerning the meaſures of Submiſſion, that were then as much cenſured, as their Performances ſince againſt *Popery* have been deſervedly admired. All this gave ſuch a Jealouſy of them to the Nation, that it muſt be confeſſed, that the Spirit which was then in fermentation went very high againſt the Church of *England*, as a Confederate at leaſt to *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Nor were ſeveral of the Nonconformiſts wanting to inflame this diſlike; all ſecret Propoſitions for accommodating our Differences were

ſo coldly entertained, that they were ſcarce hearkned to. The Propoſitions which an Eminent Divine made even in his Books writ againſt Separation, ſhewed, that while we maintained the War in the way of Diſpute, yet we were ſtill willing to treat: for that great Man made not thoſe Advances towards them without conſulting with his Superiors. Yet we were then fatally given up to a Spirit of Diſſention: and tho the Parliament in 1680 entred upon a project for healing our Differences, in which great ſteps were made to the removing of all the occaſions of our Conteſt; the Leaders of the Diſſenters, to the amazement of all Perſons, made no account of this, and even ſeemed uneaſy at it, of which the Earl of *Nottingham* and Sir *Thomas Clarges*, that ſet on that Bill with much Zeal, can give a more particular account. All theſe things concurred to make thoſe of the Church of *England* conclude, a little too raſhly, that their Ruin was reſolved on; and then it was no wonder if the Spirit of a Party, the remembrance of the laſt Wars, the preſent proſpect of Danger, and above all, the great favour that was ſhewed them at Court, threw them into ſome angry and violent Counſels. Self-preſervation is very natural: and it is plain, that many of them took that to be the caſe; ſo that truly ſpeaking, it was not ſo much at firſt a Spirit of Perſecution, as a deſire of diſabling thoſe who they believed intended to ruin them from effecting their Deſigns, that ſet them on to all thoſe unhappy things that followed. They were animated to all they did by the continued Earneſtneſs of the King and Duke, and their Miniſters. That Reproach of Juſtice and of the Profeſſion of the Law, who is now ſo high, was ſingled out for no other end, but to be their *Common-Hangman* over *England*: of whom the late King gave this true Character, *That he had neither Wit, Law, nor Common Senſe; but that he had the Impudence of ten carted Whores in him.* Another *Buffoon* was hired to plague the Nation with three or four Papers a Week; which to the Reproach of the Age, in which we live, had but too great and too general an effect, for poiſoning the Spirits of the Clergy. But thoſe who knew how all this was managed, ſaw that it was not only ſet on, but ſtill kept up by the Court. If any of the Clergy had put preached a word for Moderation, he had a chiding

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ſent him preſently from the Court; and he was from that day marked out as a *diſaffected Perſon*; and when the Clergy of *London* did very worthily refuſe to give Informations againſt their Pariſhioners that had not always conformed, the deſign having been formed upon that to bring them into the *Spiritual Courts*, and excommunicate them, and make them loſe their Right of Voting, that ſo the Charter of *London* might have been delivered up when ſo many Citizens were by ſuch means ſhut out of the Common-Council. We remember well how ſeverely they were cenſured for this, by ſome that are now dead, and others that are yet alive. I will not go further into this matter: I will not deny but many of the Diſſenters were put to great Hardſhips in many parts of *England*. I cannot deny it, and I am ſure I will never juſtify it. But this I will poſitively ſay, having obſerved it all narrowly, that he muſt have the brow of a *Jeſuit*, that can caſt this wholly on the Church of *England*, and free the Court of it. The beginnings and the progreſs of it came from the Court, and from the Popiſh Party; and though perhaps every one does not know all the Secrets of this matter, that others may have found out, yet no Man was ſo ignorant as not to ſee what was the chief Spring of all thoſe irregular Motions that ſome of us made at that time: ſo upon the whole matter, all that can be made out of this, is, that the Paſſions and Infirmities of ſome of the Church of *England*, being unhappily ſtirred up by the Diſſenters, they were fatally conducted by the Popiſh Party, to be the Inſtruments in doing a great deal of Miſchief.

IX. It is not to be doubted, but though ſome weaker Men of the Clergy may perhaps ſtill retain their little peeviſh Animoſities againſt the Diſſenters, yet the wiſer and more ſerious Heads of that great and worthy Body, ſee now their Error; they ſee who drove them on in it, till they hoped to have ruined them by it. And as they have appeared againſt Popery, with as great a ſtrength of Learning and of firm Steadineſs as perhaps can be met with in all Church-Hiſtory, ſo it cannot be doubted, but their Reflections on the Dangers into which our Diviſions have thrown us, have given them truer Notions with relation to a rigorous Conformity; and that the juſt Deteſtation

ſtation which they have expreſſed of the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, has led them to conſider and abhor one of the worſt things in it, I mean their *Severity* towards *Heretick*: And the ill uſe that they ſee the Court has made of their Zeal for ſupporting the Crown, to juſtify the Subverſion of our Government that is now ſet on, from ſome of their large and unwary Expreſſions, will certainly make them hereafter more cautious in meddling with *Politicks*: the Biſhops have under their Hands both diſowned that wide extent of the *Prerogative*, to the overturning of the *Law*, and declared their Diſpoſition to come to a Temper in the matters of *Conformity*; and there ſeems to be no doubt left of the Sincerity of their Intentions in that matter. Their Piety and Vertue, and the proſpect that they now have of ſuffering themſelves, put us beyond all doubt as to their Sincerity; and if ever God in his Providence brings us again into a ſettled State, out of the Storm into which our Paſſions and Folly, as well as the Treachery of others, has brought us, it cannot be imagined that the Biſhops will go off from thoſe moderate Reſolutions which they have now declared: and they continuing firm to them, the weak and indiſcreet Paſſions of any of the Inferior Clergy muſt needs vaniſh, when they are under the Conduct of wiſe and worthy Leaders. And I will boldly ſay this, that if the Church of *England*, after ſhe has got out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the peeviſhneſs of ſome four Men, ſhe will be abandoned both of God and Man, and will ſet both Heaven and Earth againſt her. The Nation ſees too viſibly how dear the diſpute about *Conformity* has coſt us, to ſtand any more upon ſuch *Punctilios*; and *Thoſe in whom our Deliverance is wrapt up*, underſtand this matter too well, and judg too right of it, to imagine that ever they will be *Prieſt-ridden* in this point. So that all Conſiderations concur to make us conclude, that there is no danger of our ſplitting a ſecond time upon the ſame Rock: and indeed, if any Argument were wanting to compleat the certainty of this Point, the wiſe and generous Behaviour of the main Body of the Diſſenters, in this preſent Juncture, has given them ſo juſt a Title to our Friendſhip, that we muſt reſolve to ſet all the World againſt us if we can ever forget it, and if we do not make them all the returns of Eaſe and Favour when it is in our Power to do it.

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X. It is to be hoped, that when this is laid together, it will have that effect on all ſober and true Proteſtants, as to make them forget the little angry Heats that have been among us, and even to forget the Injuries that have been done us: all that we do now one againſt another, is to ſhorten the work of our Enemies, by deſtroying one another, which muſt in Concluſion turn to all our Ruin. It is a mad Man's Revenge, to deſtroy our Friends that we may do a pleaſure to our Enemies, upon their giving us ſome good words; and if the *Diſſenters* can truſt to *Papiſts*, after the uſage that the Church of *England* has met with at their Hands, all the Comfort that they can promiſe themſelves, when *Popery* begins to act its natural part among us, and to ſet *Smithfield* again in a Fire, is that which befell ſome *Quakers* at *Rome*, who were firſt put in the *Inquiſition*, but were afterwards removed to *Bedlam*: ſo tho thoſe falſe Brethren among the *Diſſenters*, who deceive them at preſent, are certainly no *Changlings*, but know well what they are doing; yet thoſe who can be cheated by them, may well claim the priviledg of a *Bedlam*, when their Folly has left them no other Retreat.

XI. I will not digreſs too far from my preſent purpoſe, nor enter into a diſcuſſion of the *Diſpenſing Power*, which was ſo effectually overthrown the other day at the *King's Bench Bar*, that I am ſure all the Authority of the *Bench* it ſelf is no more able to ſupport it: Yet ſome late Papers in favour of it, give me occaſion to add a little relating to that Point. It is true, the Aſſertor of the *Diſpenſing Power*, who has lately appeared *with Allowance*, pretends that it can only be applied to the *Teſt* for Publick Imployments: for he owns that the *Teſt* for both Houſes of Parliament, is left entire, as not within the compaſs of this extent of the Prerogative: But another Writer, whom by his Senſe we muſt conclude an *Iriſh Man*, by his Brow a *Jeſuit*, and by the bare deſignation in the Title Page, of *James Stewart*'s Letter, a *Quaker*, goes a ſtrain higher, and thinks the King is ſo abſolutely the Sovereign as to the Legiſlative part of our Government, that he may diſſolve even the *Parliament Teſt*: ſo nimbly has he leap'd from being a *Secretary to a Rebellion*, to be an *Advocate for Tyranny*. He fancies,

fancies, that becauſe no Parliament can bind up another therefore they cannot limit the Preliminaries to a ſubſequent Parliament. But upon what is it then that Counties have but two Knights, and Burroughs as many; that Men below ſuch a value have no Vote; that Sheriffs only receive Writs and return Elections, beſides many more neceſſary Requiſites to the making a legal Parliament? In ſhort, if Laws do not regulate the Election and Conſtitution of a Parliament, all theſe things may be overthrown, and the King may caſt the whole Government in a new Mould, as well as diſſolve the Obligation that is on the Members of Parliament for taking the *Teſt*. It is true, that as ſoon as a Parliament is legally met and conſtituted, it is tied by no Laws, ſo far as not to repeal them: But the Preliminaries to a Parliament are ſtill Sacred, as long as the Law ſtands that ſettled them; for the Members are ſtill in the quality of ordinary Subjects, and not entred upon their ſhare in the Legiſlative Power, till they are conſtituted in a Parliament legally choſen and lawfully aſſembled, that is, *having obſerved all the Requiſites of the Law*. But I leave that impudent *Letter*, to return to the moſt modeſt Apology that has been yet writ for the *Diſpenſing Power*. It yields that the King cannot *abrogate* Laws, and pretends only that he can diſpenſe with them: And the diſtinction it puts between *Abrogation* and *Diſpenſation*, is, that the one is a total Repeal of the Law, and that the other is only a ſlackning of its obligatory Force, with Relation to a particular Man, or to any Body of Men; ſo that according to him, a ſimple *Abrogation*, or a *total Repeal*, is beyond the compaſs of the Prerogative. I deſire then that this Doctrine may be applied to the following words of the *Declaration*; from which the Reader may infer, whether theſe do import a ſimple Abrogation, or not; and by Conſequence, if the Declaration is not Illegal; "We do hereby further declare, "that it is our *Royal Will* and *Pleaſure*, that the Oaths com-"monly called the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; and "alſo the ſeveral Teſts and Declarations——ſhall not *at any "time hereafter*, be required to be taken, declared, or ſub-"ſcribed by *any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever*, who is or ſhall be "imployed in any Office or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Mi-"litary, under us, or in our Government. This is plain *Engliſh*,

*liſh*, and needs no Commentary. That Paper offers likewiſe an Expedient for ſecuring *Liberty of Conſcience*, by which it will be ſet beyond even the *Diſpenſing Power*; and that is, that by Act of Parliament all Perſecution may be declared to be a thing *Evil in it ſelf*, and then the Prerogative cannot reach it. But unleſs this Author fancies, that a Parliament is that which thoſe of the Church of *Rome* believe a *General Council* to be, I mean, *Infallible*, I do not ſee that ſuch an Act would ſignify any thing at all. An Act of Parliament cannot change the Nature of Things which are ſullen, and will not alter, becauſe a hard Word is clap'd on them in an Act of Parliament; nor can that make that which is not *Evil of it ſelf* become *Evil of ſelf*: For can any Act of Parliament make the *Clipping of Money*, or the not *Burying in Woollen*, *evil of it ſelf*? Such an Act were indeed *null of it ſelf*, and would ſink with its own weight, even without the burden of the Prerogative to preſs it down; and yet upon ſuch a Sandy Foundation would theſe Men have us build all our Hopes and our Securities. Another Topick like this, is, that we ought to truſt to the Truth of our *Religion*, and the Providence and Protection of God, and not lean ſo much to *Laws* and *Teſts*: All this were very pertinent, if God had not already given us humane Aſſurances againſt the Rage of our Enemies, which we are now deſired to abandon, that ſo we may fall an eaſy and cheap Sacrifice to thoſe who wait for the favourable Moment to deſtroy us. By the ſame Reaſon they may perſwade us to take off all our Doors, or at leaſt all our Locks and Bolts, and to ſleep in this expoſed Condition, truſting to God's Protection. The Simily may appear a little too high, though it is really ſhort of the Matter; for we had better truſt our ſelves to all the Thieves and Robbers of the Town, who would be perhaps contented with a part of our Goods, than to thoſe whoſe Deſigns are equally againſt both Soul and Body, and all that is dear to us.

XII. I will only add another Reflection upon the renewing of the *Declaration* this Year, which has occaſioned the preſent Storm upon the Clergy. It is repeated to us, that ſo we may ſee that the *King* continues firm to the Promiſes he made laſt Year.

Year. Yet when Men of Honour have once given their *Word*, they take it ill if any do not truſt to that, but muſt needs have it repeated to them. In the ordinary Commerce of the World, the repeating of Promiſes over and over again, is rather a ground of *Suſpicion* than of *Confidence*: and if we judg of the Accompliſhment of all the other parts of the *Declaration*, from that one which relates to the maintaining of the Church of *England as by Law eſtabliſhed*, the Proceedings againſt the *Fellows of Magdalen Colledg*, gives us no reaſon to conclude, that this will be like *the Laws of the* Medes *and* Perſians, *which alter not*: all the talk of the New *Magna Charta* cannot lay us aſleep, when we ſee ſo little regard had to the *Old one*. As for the ſecurity which is offered us in this repeating of the *King's* Promiſes, we muſt crave leave to remember, that the *King of France*, even after he had reſolved to break the *Edict* of *Nantes*, yet repeated in above an hundred *Edicts*, that were real and viſible Violations of that *Edict*, a Clauſe confirmatory of the *Edict of Nantes*, declaring that he would never *Violate* it: and in that we may ſee what Account is to be had of all *Promiſes* made to *Heretick*s in Matters Religion, by any Prince of the Roman Communion, but more particularly by a *Prince* who has put the conduct of his *Conſcience* in the Hands of a *Jeſuite*.

Some

# Some EXTRACTS out of Mr. JAMES STEWART's LETTERS,

## *Which were Communicated to* Mijn Heer FAGAL, *the States* Penſioner *of the Province of* Holland.

## *Together with ſome References to Maſter* STEWART's *Printed Letter.*

MR. *Stewart* ſtaid about ſeven Months, after he had received the *Penſionary*'s *Letter*, before he thought fit to write any *Anſwer* to it: and then inſtead of ſending one in writing to the *Penſioner*, or in a Language underſtood by him, he has thought fit, by a Civility peculiar to himſelf, to print an Anſwer in *Engliſh*, and to ſend it abroad into the World, before the *Penſioner* had ſo much as ſeen it. The many and great Affairs that preſs hard upon that Eminent Miniſter, together with a ſad want of Health, by which he has been long afflicted, have made, that he had not the leiſure to procure Mr. *Stewart's* Letter to be tranſlated to him, and to compare the Matters of Fact related to in it, with the Letters that were writ the laſt Year by Mr. *Stewart*, which are in his

poſſeſſion; nor did he think it Neceſſary to make too much haſt: and therefore if he has let as many *weeks* paſs, without ordering an *Anſwer* to be prepared, as the other had done *Months*, he thought that even this flowneſs, might look like one that deſpiſed this indecent Attempt upon his Honour, that Mr. *Stewart* has made in giving ſo unjuſt a repreſentation of the Matter of Fact. He hopes he is too well known to the World, to apprehend that any Perſons would entertain the hard thoughts of him, which Mr. *Stewart's* late Print may have offered to them; and therefore he has proceeded in this Matter, with the flowneſs that he thought became his Integrity, ſince a greater haſte might have look'd like one that was uneaſy, becauſe he knew himſelf to be in Fault. As for the reaſoning part of Mr. *Stewart's Paper*, he has already expreſſed himſelf in his Letter to Mr. *d' Alberville*, that he will not enter into any arguing upon thoſe Points, but will leave the Matter to the Judgment of every Reader; therefore he has given order only to examin thoſe Matters of Fact, that are ſet forth in the beginning of Mr. *Stewart's Letter*, that ſo the World may have a true account of the Motives that induced him to write his *Letter* to Mr. *Stewart*, from the words of Mr *Stewart's* own *Letters*: and then he will leave it to the Judgment of every Reader, whether Mr. *Stewart* has given the Matter of Fact fairly or not. It is true, the *Penſioner* has not thought fit to print all Mr. *Stewart's Letters*, at their full length; there are many Particulars in them for which he is not willing to expoſe him: and in this he has ſhewed a greater regard to Mr. *Stewart*, than the uſage that he has met with from him deſerves: If Mr. *Stewart* has kept Copies of his own *Letters*, he muſt ſee that the *Penſioner's* reſervedneſs is rather grounded on what he thought became himſelf, than on what Mr. *Stewart* has deſerved of him. But if Mr. *Stewart*, or any in his Name, will take Advantages from this, that the *Letters* themſelves are not publiſhed, and that here there are only *Extracts* of them offered to the World, then the *Penſioner* will be excuſed, if he prints them all to a Tittle. The Truth is, it is ſcarce conceivable how Mr. *Stewart* could aſſume the confidence that appears in his printed Letter, if he have kept Copies of the Letters that he writ laſt Year: and if he engaged himſelf in Affairs of ſuch Importance,

tance, without keeping Copies of what he writ, it was somewhat extraordinary; and yet this cenſure is that which falls the ſofteſt on him: but I will avoid every thing that looks like a ſharpneſs of Expreſſion; for the *Penſioner* expects, that he who is to give this Account to the *Engliſh Nation*, ſhould rather conſider the Dignity of the *Poſt* in which he is, than the Advantages that Mr. *Stewart* may have given for replying ſharply on him. And in this whole Matter the *Penſioner's* chief concern is, to offer to the World ſuch a Relation of the Occaſions that drew his *Letter* to Mr. *Stewart* from him, as may juſtify him againſt the falſe Inſinuations that are given: he owed this likewiſe, as an expreſſion of his Reſpect and Duty to their Highneſſes, in whoſe Name he wrote his *Letter*, and at whom all thoſe falſe Repreſentations are levelled, tho they fall firſt and immediately upon himſelf.

The ſum of the Matter of Fact, as it is repreſented by Mr. *Stewart*, amounts to this, 'That he was ſo ſurpriſed to ſee, "in *January* laſt, the *Penſioner's* Letter to him in print, that "he was inclined to disbelieve his own Eyes, conſidering "the remoteneſs of the occaſion that was given for that *Let-*"*ter*: that he had never writ to the *Penſioner*, but was expreſly "*cautioned againſt it*. But that ſeeing the ſincerity of the King's "Intentions, he was deſirous to contribute his ſmall endeavours "for the advancing ſo good a Work, and for that end he "*Obtained Leave* to write to a private Friend, who he judged "might have opportunity to repreſent any thing he could ſay "to the beſt advantage; but that of the *Letters* which he writ "to his Friend, there were only two intended for communicati-"on, in which he ſtudied to evince the Equity and Expediency, "of repealing the *Teſts* and the *Penal Laws*: and that with a pe-"culiar regard to the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange's* Intereſt; "and he deſired that this might be Imparted to Friends, but "chiefly to thoſe at the *Hague*. And that this was the ſub-"ſtance of all that he writ on that occaſion. But finding that "the Prince had already declared himſelf in thoſe Matters, "he reſolved to inſiſt no further: yet his Friend inſinuating, "that he had ſtill hopes to get a more diſtinct and ſatisfying "*Anſwer*, from a better hand, though without naming the "Perſon, he attended the Iſſue; and about the beginning of "*November*, almoſt three moneths after his firſt writing, he re-

" ceived the *Penſioner's Letter*, though he had not writ to him " (which is repeated again and again) and in it an account of the " *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange*'s Thoughts about the *Repeal of* " *the Teſts and Penal Laws* (which he had not deſired) upon which " he took ſome care to prevent the publiſhing of it: But when " he ſaw it in print, he clearly perceived that it was printed " in *Holland*; and ſo wonders how the *Penſioner* could ſay, that " it was printed in *England*, which he found in his printed Let- " ter to Mr. *d' Albeville*. He knows not upon what Provocation " the *Penſioner* writ that *Letter*: but in it he finds that he writ, " that he was deſired by himſelf *to give him an account of the* " *Prince and Princeſs of Orange's Thoughts*, and that theſe preſ- " ſing Deſires were made to him by His Majeſtie's Knowledg " and Allowance: this being ſo different from the *Letters* he " had writ, of which he is ſure that the account he has given is " true in every point, he was forced to vindicate the King's Ho- " nour and his own Duty. He writ not out of any curioſity " to know their Highneſſes Thoughts, which were already " known, they having been ſignified to the *Marquis of Albe-* " *ville*, and therefore he had no Orders from the King for wri- " ting on that Subject, but only a Permiſſion to uſe his little " Endeavors for the advancing of his Service; but it was " never moved to him to write, either in the King's Name, or " in the Name of any of his Secretaries. This is Mr. *Stewart's* Account in the firſt nine Pages of his *Letter*, and is ſet down in his own words.

Now in oppoſition to all this, it will appear from the following *Extracts*, that Mr. *Stewart* writ to his Friend, as the moſt proper Interpreter for addreſſing himſelf to the *Penſioner*: that he repeated his Propoſition frequently, finding his Friend unwilling to engage in ſo Critical a matter. He gives great Aſſurances of His *Majeſties* Reſolutions *never to alter the Succeſſion*, (which is plainly the Language of a Treaty) he preſſes over and over again to know the *Prince's* Mind, whoſe concurrence in the Matter would be the beſt *Guarentee* of the Liberty. He, by Name, deſires his *Letters* may be ſhewed to the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* (though he ſays, he only ordered them to be ſhewed to *Friends at the Hague*: ſo it ſeems he has the modeſty to reckon them among the number of his *Friends*; but it is a queſtion whether their *Highneſſes* do ſo or not)

not) he ſays in one *Letter*, *That what he writ was from his Majeſty himſelf*, and enlarges more fully on this in two other *Letters*; and he deſires, that the *Princes Anſwers, with his Reaſons, might be underſtood*; which very probably gave the occaſion to all the reaſoning part of the *Penſioner's Letter*: and it appears by that *Letter*, that the *Return* to all this was expected by the *King*, and in almoſt every *Letter* he preſſes for a Return.

And in Concluſion, upon his receiving the *Penſioner's Letter*, he expreſſes likewiſe a great ſenſe of the Honour done him in it: that he had ſo far complied with his Inſignificant Endeavours; he mentions his acquainting both the *King* and the *Earls* of *Sunderland* and *Melfort* with it; and in another *Letter*, after new Thanks for the *Penſioner's Letter*, he *laments that it was ſo long delayed*. But all theſe things will appear more evident to the *Reader*, from the Paſſages drawn out of Mr. *Stewart's* own *Letters*, which follow. Mr. *Stewart* ſeems not to know upon what provocation the *Penſioner* writ to Mr. *d'Albeville*, and yet the *Penſioner* had ſet that forth in the *Letter* it ſelf; for the Pamphlet entituled *Parliamentum Pacificum*, that was licenſed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, contained ſuch Reflections on his *Letter* to Mr. *Stewart*, either as a *Forgery*, *or as a thing done without the Princeſs of Orange's knowledg*, that the *Penſioner* judged himſelf bound in honour to do himſelf right. As for Mr. *Stewart's* criticalneſs, in knowing that the *Penſioner's Letter* was firſt printed in *Holland*, and his Reflection on the *Penſioner* for inſinuating that the *Letter* was firſt printed in *England*; it is very like that Mr. *Stewart*, after ſo long a practice in Libels, knows how to diſtinguiſh between the Prints of the ſeveral Nations better than the *Penſioner*, whoſe courſe of Life has raiſed him above all ſuch Practices. But it is certain, that whereſoever it was firſt printed, the *Penſioner* writ ſincerely, and believed really that it was firſt printed in *England*. This is all that ſeemed neceſſary to be ſaid for an Introduction to the following *Extracts*.

*July*

## *July* 12, 1687.

AND I assure you, by all I can find here, the Establishment of this equal Liberty is his *Majesty*'s utmost Design —— I wish your People at the *Hague* do not mistake too far both his *Majesty* and the *Dissenters*; for as I have already told you his *Majesty*'s utmost Design, and have ground to belive that his *Majesty* will preserve and observe the *true Right of Succession*, as a thing most sacred; so I must entreat you to remark, that the Offence that some of the *Church-of-England-Men* take at Addressing, seems to me unaccountable, and is apprehended by the *Dissenters* to proceed so certainly from their former and wonted Spirit, that they begin to think themselves in large more hazard from the Church of *England*'s Re-exaltation, than all the *Papists* their Advantages. And next, that the Prince is thought to be abused by some there to a too great Mislike of that which can never wrong him, but will in probability in the Event be wholly in his own Power ——— I hope *you will consider and make your best use of these things* ——— *I expect an account of this* per *first, I mean, an Answer to this Letter, and pray improve it to the best Advantage.*

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## *The* Second Letter, *without a Date.*

THat it is a thing most certain, that his *Majesty* is resolved to observe the *Succession to the Crown* as a thing most Sacred, and is far from all thoughts of altering the same; and that his Majesty is very desirous to have the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange* to consent to concur with him in establishing this Liberty ——— So that upon the whole it may be feared, that if the *Prince* continue obstinate in refusing his *Majesty*, he may fall under suspitions of the greatest part of *England*, and

of all *Scotland*, to be too great a Favourer of the Church of *England*, and conſequently a Perſon whom they have reaſon to dread ——— And many think that this Compliance in the *Prince*, might be further a wiſe part, both as to the conciliating of his *Majeſty*'s greater Favour, and the begetting of an underſtanding betwixt the *King* and the *States*; and the *Parliament* will conſent to the Liberty ſo much the rather, that they have a *Proteſtant Succeſſor* in proſpect ——— I cannot on theſe things make any Concluſion, but ſimply leave them to your Reflection, and the beſt uſe you pleaſe to make of them ——— *I will expect your Anſwer* per *firſt*.

## *Windſor*, July 18. 1687.

THE Hints that I gave you in my two former Letters, I ſhall now explain more fully in this ——— And therefore I heartily wiſh, that the *Prince* and *Princeſs*, may underſtand all that you think needful on this Subject: it troubles his *Majeſty* to find them ſo averſe from approving this *Liberty*, and concurring for its Eſtabliſhment ——— ſo that in truth I cannot ſee why their Highneſſes ſhould not embrace cheerfully ſo fair an Opportunity to gratify both his *Majeſty* and the far greater and better part of the Nation. ——— Now upon the whole; I expect that you will make all I have written fully known at the *Hague*, eſpecially with the *Prince* ——— But the main thing I expect from you, is to have your Mind, whether or not his *Highneſs* may be ſo diſpoſed, as that a well choſen Informer ſent to himſelf might perfect the work. And this Anſwer I will expect *per* firſt; where-ever the *Prince* be, you know who are to be ſpoken, and how ——— I again entreat your Care and Diſpatch in this with your *Return*.

*London*,

## *London*, July 29. 1687.

MIne of the $\frac{9}{19}$ *July*, with my last of the 26th *July V. St.* will I am sure satisfy you fully; for therein I have indeed answered all can be objected, and have given you such an Account of the Confirmation of all I have writ *from his Majesty himself*, that I must think it a Fatality if your People remain obstinate. ——————— And I again assure you, if your People be obstinate, it will be *fatal* to the poor *Dissenters*, and I fear productive of Ills yet unheard of; and therefore pray consider *my Letters*, and *let me know if there be any place to receive Information by a good hand* ——————— but however, let us endeavour Good all we can, *and I assure you I have my Warrant.* ——————— *Haste your Answer.*

## *Windsor*, Aug. 5. 1687.

AND in a word, believe me, if the *Prince* will do what is desired, it is the best Service to the *Protestants*, *the Highest Obligation on his Majesty*, and the greatest Advancement of his own Interest that he can think on: but if not, then all is contrary ——————— but *pray haste an Answer.*

## *Windsor*, Aug. 12. 1678.

I Have yours of the $\frac{9}{19}$ Instant, long look'd for; your Remark, that you have received mine of the 26*th* of *July*, but say nothing of that of the 19*th*, which was my fullest, *and which*

*which I assure you was writ, not only with permission, but according to his Majesty's Mind sufficiently expressed; our Religion ought certainly to be dearer to us than all Earthly Concerns. It is very true what you say, that Mistakes about its Concerns (especially in such a time) may be of the greatest Importance*, which no doubt should perswade to a very scrupulous caution: But yet I am satisfied, *that the simple representing of what was wrote to you (which was all I required) was no such difficult Task* ——— But to be plain with you, as my Friend, your return was not only long delay'd, but I observe such a Coldness in it, different from the strain of your former, that I think I mistake not when I understand by your Letter more than you express ——— *I wish the P. may see or hear this from end to end.* ———

## *London*, Aug. 22. 1687.

I have yours of the 16*th* Instant. When I said your last was more cool, I meant not as to your Affection, *but as to your Diligence in that Affair* ——— for I am perswaded, that the establishing of this Liberty by Law, is not only the Interest of *Protestant Dissenters* above all others, *but that his Highness, consenting to it, would be its secure Guarantee both against Changes and Abuses* ——— As you love the quiet of good Men and me, leave of Complements and Ceremonies, *and discourse his Highness of all I have written* ——— I am now hastning to *Scotland* ——— but may return shortly; *for the King is most desirous to gain the Prince*, and he will be undoubtedly *the best Guarantee to us* of this Liberty, and also to hinder all your Fears about *Popery*.

## *Newark*, Aug. 26. 1687.

BUT now I must tell you, that though ——— I know ——— to be my very good Friend, yet he hath not answered my Expectation; for you see that to seven of mine, he gave me not one word of *Answer*, although I told him, that *the Substance of them was writ by the King's Allowance, and a Return expected by him* ——— besides, the *Answers* he makes are either Generals or Complements, whereas my desire was, that the *Prince* should know things, *and that his Answer with his Reasons might be understood* ——— but my Friend has delayed and scrusled things.

## From *Scotland*, Septemb. 24. 1687.

I Have yours of the 30*th* of *August*, but have delayed so long to answer, because I had written other Letters to you whereof I yet expect the Return ——— my most humble Duty to my Friend at the *Hague*.

## *Edinburgh*, Octob. 8. 1687.

AS for that more important Affair wherewith I have long troubled you, I need add no more; my Conscience bears me witness, I have dealt sincerely for the freedom of Gospel ——— *I had certainly long ere now written to Pensioner* Fagel, *were it not that I judged you were a better Interpreter of any thing I could say:* I know his real Concern for the

the *Proteſtant Religion*; and ſhall never forget his undeſerved Reſpects to me; but alas! that Providences ſhould be ſo ill underſtood.

## *London*, Novemb. 8. 1687.

I Have yours of the 1*ſt* of *November* —— the encloſed from the *L. Penſionary* ſurprize me with a Teſtimony of his Favour and Friendſhip, and alſo of his ſincere love to the Truth, and fair and candid reaſoning upon the preſent Subject of *Liberty*, beyond what I can expreſs; he hath ſeriouſly done too much for me; but the more he hath done in Compliance with my inſignificant Endeavours, the more do I judg and eſteem his noble and zealous Concern for Religion and Peace, which I am certain could only in this matter be his juſt Motive: I hope you will teſtify to him my deep ſenſe of his Favour and moſt ſerious profeſſion of Duty with all diligence, until I be in caſe to make his L. a direct return. I ſhewed the Letter to my Lord *Melfort*, who was ſatisfied with it.

## *London*, Novemb. 16. 1687. *which it ſeems is by a Miſtake of the Date.*

I Have your laſt, but have been ſo harraſſed and toiled, that I have not had time to write to you, *much leſs to my L. Penſionary*; yet ſince my laſt, *I acquainted the Earl of* Sunderland *with his Anſwer, as the King ordered me*; but I ſee all hope from your ſide is given quite over, and Men are become as cold in it here, as you are poſitive there.

*London*, Novemb. 19. 1687.

BY my last of the Eighth Inſtant, I gave you notice of the Receipt of my Lord *Penſionary*'s Letters, and what was and is my ſenſe of *his extraordinary Kindneſs and Concern in that Affair*; *ſince that time I have had the opportunity to ſhew them to the King, and at his Command did read to him diſtinctly, out of the Engliſh Copy, all the Account given of their Highneſſes Mind touching the Penal Statutes and the Teſt*; and withal, ſignified the ſum of what was ſubjoined, eſpecially the reſpect and deference therein expreſſed to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; but to my regret, *I find that this Anſwer hath been too long delayed*; and that now the King is quite over that Matter, being no ways ſatisfied with the Diſtinction made of the *Teſts* from the *Penal Laws*; and no leſs poſitive, that his Highneſs is neither to be prevail'd upon, nor ſo much as to be further treated with in this Matter.

# THE CONCLUSION.

AND thus all that relates to the Occaſion that drew the *Penſioner's Letter* from him, appears in its true Light. If this Diſcovery is uneaſy to Mr. *Stewart*, he has none to blame for it but himſelf. It it very likely the firſt Article of his Merit, for the defacing of all that was paſt, was the pains he took to work on their *Highneſſes*, by the *Penſioner's* Means: But that having failed him, the abuſive *Letter* that he has publiſhed upon it, may come in for a ſecond Article: And now the Reproaches to which this Diſcovery muſt needs expoſe him,

him, muſt compleat his Merit: if upon all this he is not highly rewarded, he has ill Luck, and ſmall Encouragement will be given to others to ſerve the *Court* as he has done. But if he has great Rewards, it muſt be acknowledged, that he has paid dear for them. The printing and diſtributing 15000 Copies of his *Letter*, is only the publiſhing his ſhame to 15000 Perſons, though it is to be doubted, if ſo many could be found in the Nation, who would give themſelves the trouble to read ſo ill a Paper.

An

# An EDICT in the *Roman Law*:

## In the 25 Book of the *Digests*, Title 4. Sect. 10.

As concerning the visiting of

## A Big-Bellied WOMAN:

And the looking after

## What may be born by Her.

The *Pretor* says thus;

§. 10. DE inspiciendo ventre, custodiendoque partu, sic Prætor ait: "Si mulier mortuo marito prægnantem "se esse dicet, his ad quos "ea res pertinebit, procuratorive eorum, bis in "mense denunciandum "curet, ut mittant, si velint, quæ ventrem inspicient. Mittantur (autem) mulieres liberæ "duntaxat quinque; hæq; simul

"IF a Woman, *upon her* Husband's *Death, pretends that* "*she is with* Child, *she must in-*"*timate that twice every Month* "*thereafter, to* those *who are* "*the most concerned in it, or to* "*their* Proxies, *that so they* "*may send some, if they think* "*fit, to visit her* Belly. *They* "*may send any Free-Women,* "(i. e. *not Slaves*) *to the num-*"*ber of five at most: and all these* "*together may visit her; pro-*"*vided, that while they do it,* "*none of them may touch her* "*Belly, without her leave: She* shall

"ſimul omnes inſpiciant: "Dum ne qua earum, dum "inſpicit, invita muliere "ventrem tangat. Mulier "in domu honeſtiſſimæ "fœminæ pariat, quam e- "go, conſtituam. Mulier "ante dies triginta, quam "parituram ſe eſſe putat, "denunciet his ad quos ea "res pertinet, procuratori- "buſve eorum, ut mittant, "ſi velint, qui ventrem cu- "ſtodiant. In quo con- "clavi mulier paritura e- "rit, ibi ne plures additus "ſint, quam unus: ſi e- "runt, ex utraq; parte ta- "bulis præfigantur. Ante "oſtium ejus conclavis li- "beri tres, & tres liberæ "cum binis comitibus cu- "ſtodiant. Quotieſcunque "ea mulier in id conclave, "aliudve quod, ſive in ba- "lineum ibit, cuſtodes, ſi "volent, id ante proſpici- "ant: & eos qui introie- "rint, excutiant. Cuſto- "des, qui ante conclave po- "ſiti erunt, ſi volunt, om- "nes, qui conclave aut "domum introierint, ex- "cutiant. Mulier, cum partu-

"*ſhall be lodged in the Houſe of* "*ſome Woman of an untainted* "*Reputation, ſuch as ſhall be* "*named by the* Pretor: *And* "*ſhe ſhall ſignify to the* Perſons "*concerned, or to their Proxies,* "thirty days *before, when ſhe* "*expects to be delivered, that if* "*they think fit, they may ſend* "*ſuch as may* watch *over her.* "*The* Room *in which ſhe is to* "*be brought to Bed, ſhall be viſi-* "*ted, that there may be no o-* "*ther* Entries to it but one: "*and if there are any other, care* "*muſt be taken to nail them up* "*with Boards laid along both* "*within and without; and at the* "Door *of this* Bedchamber *three* "*Free-Men with as many Free-* "*Women, and two Servants, may* "*be ſet to watch; as oft as the* "*Woman thinks fit to go into that* "Bedchamber, *or into any other,* "*or into a* Bath, *which thoſe* "*Keepers may viſit if they think* "*fit, before ſhe goes into it, and* "*may alſo viſit all that go into* "*it at that time: and thoſe* "*Keepers may alſo, if they think* "*fit, ſearch all ſuch as come* "*within the Houſe or the* Bed- "chamber. *When the* Woman "*falls in Labour, ſhe ſhall give* "*notice of it to* thoſe *concerned,* "*or to their* Proxies; *that ſo* "*they may ſend ſuch Perſons* "*who may be* Witneſſes *to the* "Birth; *who muſt be Free-*

*Women,*

" parturire incipiat, his ad
" quos ea res pertinet, pro-
" curatoribusve eorum de-
" nunciet, ut mittant qui-
" bus præsentibus pariat.
" Mittantur mulieres libe-
" ræ duntaxat quinque:
" ita ut, præter obstetrices
" duas, in eo conclavi ne
" plures mulieres liberæ
" sint, quam decem, an-
" cillæ quam sex. Hæ, quæ
" intus futuræ erunt, excu-
" tiantur omnes in eo con-
" clavi, ne qua prægnans
" sit. Tria lumina, ne
" minus, ibi sint: scilicet,
" quia tenebræ ad subjici-
" endum aptiores sunt.
" Quod natum erit, his ad
" quod ea res pertinet, pro-
" curatoribusve eorum, o-
" stendatur. Apud cum
" educatur, apud quem pa-
" rens jusserit. Si autem
" ne his parens jusserit, aut
" is, apud quem voluerit
" educari, curam non re-
" cipiet, apud quem edu-
" cetur, causa cognita con-
" stituam. Is, apud quem
" educabitur quod natum
" erit, quoad trium men-
" sium sit, bis in mense ex
eo

" *Women, to the number of five*
" *at most: and besides the Two*
" Midwives, *there must be no*
" *more Free-Women in the Bed-*
" *Chamber than* Ten, *nor more*
" *Servants than* Six. *All these,*
" *who enter within the* Bed-
" Chamber, *shall be visited in*
" *the Room, to see if any of*
" *them is with Child: nor must*
" *there be fewer than three*
" *Lights in the Room, because an*
" Imposture *may be more easily*
" *committed in the dark. That*
" *which is born, shall be* shewed
" to those who are concerned,
" *or to their* Proxies, *if they de-*
" *sire it. The* Infant *is to be*
" *kept by him, who is named by*
" *the* Father *for that Intent;*
" *but if he has left no Orders*
" *concerning it, or if he who*
" *was named by him, will not un-*
" *dertake it, the* Pretor *having*
" *examined the Matters, shall*
" *name the Person to whose keep-*
" *ing the* Child *is to be trusted:*
" *whose Name shall be published,*
" *and he shall be obliged to shew*
" *him, as he thinks fit, twice a*
" *Month, till he is three Months*
" *old; and after that, once a*
" *Month till he is six Months*
" *old, and once in two Months*
" *till he is a Year old; and from*
" *thence once in six Months till*
" *he can speak.* But if any
" will not suffer their Belly to
" be *visited*, nor themselves
to

"eo tempore; quoad ſex "menſium ſit, ſemel in "menſe; à ſex menſibus "quoad anniculus fiat, al- "ternis menſibus; ab an- "niculo quoad fari poſſit, "ſemel in ſex menſibus, "ubi volet, oſtendat. Si "cui ventrem inſpici cu- "ſtodirive, adeſſe partui "licitum non erit, factum- "que quid erit, quo minus "ea ita fiant, uti ſupra "comprehenſum eſt. Ei, "quod natum erit, poſſeſ- "ſionem cauſa cognita non "dabo; ſive quod natum "erit, ut ſupra cautum eſt, "inſpici non licuerit. Quas "itaque actiones me daturum polliceor his, quibus ex "Edicto meo Bonorum poſſeſſio data ſit eas, ſi mihi "juſta cauſa videbitur eſſe, ei non dabo.

"to be *watched*, nor admit of "*Witneſſes* to their delivery, "or if any thing is done for "hindring the execution of "thoſe things, that are hereby "provided; when upon hear- "ing the Matter that is made "out, that which is *born*, is "not to be admitted to the "poſſeſſion of the *Eſtate*, if it "be found that the Child has "not been viſited according "to the former Regulations: "In which Caſe the *Pretor* pro- "miſes to give over all *Rights* "and *Titles to thoſe others*, "whom, according to his "Edict, he has put in poſſeſſion, "and not to the *Child* that is "born, the Juſtice of the Cauſe "being firſt made out to him.

§. 11. Quamvis ſit manifeſtiſſimum Edictum Prætoris, attamen non eſt negligenda interpretatio ejus.

§. 12. Denunciare igitur mulierem oportet his ſcilicet, quorum intereſt partum non edi, vel totam habituris hereditatem, vel partem ejus, ſive ab inteſtato, ſive ex Teſtamento.

11. *Although the Pretor's* Edict *is very expreſs, yet the Explanation of it is not to be paſſed over.*

12. *The* Woman *is bound to intimate her being with* Child, *to all* thoſe *who are concerned in it, and to* all others *to whom either the whole* Inheritance, *or a part of it belong; whether by the ſucceſſion in the courſe of Law, or by the Will of the Dead.*

§. 13. Sed & si servus hæres institutus fuerit, *si nemo natus sit*: Aristo scribit, hic quoq; servo quamvis non omnia, quædam tamen circa partum custodiendum arbitrio Prætoris esse concedenda. Quam sententiam puto veram; *publicè enim interest, partus non subjici: ut ordinum dignitas, familiarumq; salva sit.* Ideoq; etiam servus iste, cum sit in spe constitutus successionis, qualis qualis sit, debet audiri, rem & publicam & suam gerens.

13. *And even if a* Slave *is made* Heir *by the* Will, *there being no Child*, Aristo *writes, that the* Pretor *ought, according to his discretion, to give him some, though not all, those priviledges of watching over the Birth: in which I think he is in the right:* For it is of Publick Concern, that there should be no suppositious Births; and that the Dignity of Families, and of the different Ranks of Men, be preserved entire. *And that therefore even this* Slave, *who is put in the hope of the Succession, should be heard, how mean soever his Condition may be, since the* Publick is concerned *in that which he looks after, as well as he is, as to his own particular.*

§. 14. Denunciari oportet his, quos proxima spes successionis contingit; ut puta primo gradu hæredi instituto; non etiam substituto: &, si intestatus paterfamilias sit, his, qui primum locum ab intestato tenent: si vero plures sint simul successuri, omnibus denunciandum est.

14. *The Matter ought to be intimated to those who are the next in the* Succession, *but not to those who come after them in the Entail; but if the* Father *died without a Will, then it must be intimated to those who succeed immediately to the Defunct; and if there are many Heirs Portioners, it must be intimated to them all.*

§. 15. Quod autem Prætor ait, *causâ cognitâ se possessionem non daturum, vel actiones denegaturum*, eo perti-

15. *As for that Clause, in which the* Pretor *says, that upon the* hearing of the Cause, *he will not put the Child in Pos-*

*session,*

pertinet, ut si per rusticitatem aliquid fuerit omissum ex his, quæ Prætor servari voluit, non obsit partui. Quale est enim, si quid ex his, quæ leviter observanda Prætor edixit, non sit factum, partui denegari bonorum possessionem? Sed mos Regionis inspiciendus est, & secundum eum & observari ventrem, & partum, & infantem oportet.

*session, and that he will not give him leave to sue for it: by this (of hearing the Cause) is to be understood, that if by a clownish simplicity, some of those things have been neglected, that the* Prætor *has appointed to be observed, this must not turn to the prejudice of the Child: for what reason is there, that if any of those things have been omitted, which the* Prætor *has ordered to be slightly observed, that then the Possession of the Estate should be denied to the Child? But a regard is to be had to the Custom of the Country: and according to that, both the* Big-Belly, *the* Birth, *and the* Child, *are to be visited and watched over.*

It seems that the *Abuse* provided against by this Law, was known among the *Athenians*, for it is set forth among their other Disorders by *Aristophanes*, in the following words.

*Aristophanes* in his *Thesmophoriazusai.*

"I knew another Woman, who said that she was in Labour, "and pretended to have had her Pains for the space of ten "days, till she had bought a Child, mean while the Husband "was running about to all places, buying those Remedies that "hastened Labour. But an old Woman brought in a Pot a *Child* "to her, the Mouth of which she had shut up carefully with "Wax, that so it might not cry out; and as soon as she had "made a Sign to the Woman, intimating what she had brought "to her, she that pretended to be in Labour, cried out to "her Husband, *Get you gone, get you gone, Husband; for I "am now upon the point to be brought to Bed, and I feel the "Child kicking with his Heells ready to break out.* Upon this he

" in great Joy withdrew, and presently the old Woman pluck'd " out of the Child's Mouth that Wax with which she had " stopped it: upon which that cursed Woman that had " brought in the Child ran out with great Joy to the Husband, " and said, You have a Son born that looks like a Lion, like a " Lion; and that is your very Image in all things.——What follows is too immodest to be translated.

Concerning the Interpretation of Laws, and that they ought to be expounded not strictly by the Words or Cases put in them, but by the Equity and Reason of them, *Cicero* writes thus, *lib.* 2. *de Inventione.*

Causæ & rationes afferentur, quare & quo consilio, sit ita in lege: ut sententia & voluntate scriptoris, non ipsa solum Scripturæ causa, confirmatum esse videatur.——Legis scriptorem, certo ex ordine, Judices certa ætate præditos, constituisse; ut essent non qui scriptum suum recitarent, quod quivis puer facere posset, sed qui cogitationem assequi possent, & voluntatem interpretari.——Nullam rem neque legibus, neque scriptura ulla, denique ne in sermone quidem quotidiano atque imperiis domesticis, rectè posse administrari; si unusquisque velit

*Let the Grounds and Reasons be shewed, that it may appear upon what Design the Law was so and so made: that so it may appear what is enacted, not only from the Words of the Law, but from the Will and Design of the Law-giver.——The Law-givers have ordained Judges to be chosen out of a certain Rank of Men, and of a determined Age, that so there might be Persons appointed, who should not only repeat the Letter of the Law, which any Child may do, but should be able to find out the Design of the Law-giver, and explain it according to his Will.—— If one will only have regard to the Words, and not to the Mind of him that uttered them, it will not be possible to order Matters aright, neither by Law, nor by any sort of Writing, nor indeed by any sort of Discourse: And*

velit verba ſpectare, & non ad voluntatem ejus qui verba habuerit accedere. Judex is videtur legi obtemperare, qui ſententiam ejus non qui Scripturam ſequatur.——Leges in conſilio ſcriptoris, & utilitate communi, non in verbis conſiſtere.——Idcirco de hac re nihil eſſe ſcriptum, quod cum de illa eſſet ſcriptum, de hac is qui ſcribebat, dubitaturum neminem judicabat. Poſtea multis in legibus, multa eſſe præterita, quæ idcirco præterita nemo arbitretur, quod ex cæteris de quibus ſcriptum ſit, intelligi poſſint.

*And this will appear in the whole Buſineſs of the World, and even in Domeſtick Matters.—— That Judg obeys the Law more, who purſues the Deſign of it, than he who has regard only to the Words of it. Laws conſiſt not in the Words in which they are conceived, but in the Intent of the Makers of them; and are to be explained by the Good of the Publick for which they are made. Nothing is ſpecified in the Law concerning ſuch a Caſe, becauſe the Law-giver, who mentioned another Caſe in the Law, could not but conclude, that the one being expreſſed, no Body could doubt of the other. For after all, there are many Caſes that ſeem to be omitted in many Laws, which yet we ought not to think omitted, becauſe we may eaſily ſee what we ought to think of them from thoſe Caſes that are mentioned in the Law.*

*The greateſt part of his Oration for* Cæcina, *is to the ſame purpoſe, and among many others theſe words are remarkable.*

Cum voluntas, & conſilium, & ſententia interdicti, intelligatur, impudentiam ſummam, aut ſtultitiam ſingularem putabimus

*When we once comprehend the Reaſons, the Deſign and the Intent of a Law, it is either great Impudence, or great Folly, to let our ſelves be miſled by any Ambiguity in the words: for this is*

*not*

tabimus in verborum errore versari, rem & causam & utilitatem communem non relinquere solum, sed etiam prodere. ——— Juris igitur retineri sententiam, & equitatem plurimum valere, oportere, an verbo ac litera jus omne torqueri, vos statuite utrum utilius esse videatur?

*not only to forsake, but to betray the true Ends of the Law, and the Good of the Publick. —— Do you therefore, that are the Judges, consider which is best? Whether the Design of the Law ought to be observed, and to be explained according to Equity? or whether Justice it self ought to be perverted, by adhering to the Words and Letter of the Law?*

A N

AN

# ENQUIRY

Into the Meaſures of

# SUBMISSION

TO THE

# SUPREAM AUTHORITY:

*And of the* Grounds *upon which it may be* lawful *or neceſſary for* Subjects *to defend their* Religion, Lives, *and* Liberties.

THIS *Enquiry* cannot be regularly made, but by taking in the firſt place, a true and full view of the nature of *Civil Society*, and more particularly of the nature of *Supream Power*, whether it is lodged in one or more Perſons?

I. It is certain, That the *Law of Nature* has put no difference nor ſubordination among Men, except it be that of *Children* to *Parents*, or of *Wives* to their *Husbands*; ſo that with Relation to the Law of Nature, all Men are born free; and this Liberty muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed entire, unleſs ſo far as it is limited by Contracts, Proviſions, or Laws. For a Man can either bind himſelf to be a Servant, or ſell himſelf to be a Slave, by which he becomes in the power of another, only ſo far as it was provided by the Contract: ſince all that Liberty which was not expreſly given away, remains ſtill entire: ſo that the Plea for Liberty always proves it ſelf, unleſs it appears that it is given up or limited by any ſpecial Agreement.

II. It

II. It is no less certain, that as the Light of Nature has planted in all Men a Natural Principle of the love of Life, and of a desire to preserve it; so the common Principles of all Religion agree in this, that God having set us in this World, we are bound to preserve that Being, which he has given us, by all just and lawful ways. Now this Duty of Self-preservation is exerted in Instances of two sorts; the one are, in the resisting of violent Aggressors; the other are the taking of just Revenges of those, who have invaded us so secretly, that we could not prevent them, and so violently that we could not resist them: In which cases the Principle of self-Preservation warrants us, both to recover what is our own, with just Damages, and also to put such unjust Persons out of a Capacity of doing the like Injuries any more, either to our selves, or to any others. Now in these two Instances of Self-Preservation, this difference is to be observed; that the first cannot be limited by any slow Forms, since a pressing Danger requires a vigorous Repulse, and cannot admit of Delays; whereas the second, of taking Revenges, or Reparations, is not of such haste, but that it may be brought under Rules and Forms.

III. The true and Original Notion of *Civil Society* and *Government*, is, that it is a Compromise made by such a Body of Men, by which they resign up the Right of demanding Reparations, either in the way of Justice against one another, or in the way of War, against their Neighbours; to such a single Person, or to such a Body of Men as they think fit to trust with this. And in the management of this *Civil Society*, great distinction is to be made, between the Power of making Laws for the regulating the Conduct of it, and the Power of executing those Laws: The *Supream Authority* must still be supposed to be lodged with those who have the *Legislative Power* reserved to them, but not with those who have only the *Executive*; which is plainly a *Trust*, when it is separated from the *Legislative Power*; and all *Trusts*, by their nature import, that those to whom they are given, are accountable, even though that it should not be expresly specified in the words of the *Trust* it self.

IV. It cannot be supposed, by the Principles of Natural Religion, that God has authorised any one *Form of Government*,

*ment*, any other way than as the general Rules of Order, and of Juſtice, oblige all Men not to ſubvert Conſtitutions, nor diſturb the Peace of Mankind, or invade thoſe Rights with which the Law may have veſted ſome Perſons: for it is certain, that as private Contracts lodg or tranſlate private Rights; ſo the *Publick Laws* can likewiſe lodg ſuch Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues in thoſe under whoſe Protection they put themſelves, and in ſuch a manner, that they may come to have as good a Title to theſe, as any private Perſon can have to his Property: ſo that it becomes an Act of high Injuſtice and Violence to invade theſe: which is ſo far a greater Sin than any ſuch Actions would be againſt a private Perſon, as the publick Peace and Order is preferrable to all private Conſiderations whatſoever. So that in Truth, the Principles of *Natural Religion*, give thoſe that are in Authority no Power at all, but they do only ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion of that which is theirs by Law. And as no Conſiderations of Religion can bind me to pay another more than I indeed owe him, but do only bind me more ſtrictly to pay what I owe; ſo the Conſiderations of Religion do indeed bring *Subjects* under ſtricter Obligations to pay all due Allegiance and Submiſſion to their *Princes*, but they do not at all extend that Allegiance further than the Law carries it. And though a Man has no Divine Right to his Property, but has acquired it by human means, ſuch as Succeſſion, or Induſtry; yet he has a Security for the Enjoyment of it from a Divine Right: ſo tho *Princes* have no immediate Warrants from Heaven, either for their Original Titles, or for the extent of them, yet they are ſecured in the Poſſeſſion of them by the Principles and Rules of *Natural Religion*.

V. It is to be conſidered, that as a private Perſon can bind himſelf to another Man's Service, by different degrees, either as an ordinary Servant for Wages, or as one appropriate for a longer time, as an Apprentice; or by a total giving himſelf up to another, as in the caſe of Slavery: in all which caſes the general Name of *Maſter* may be equally uſed, yet the degrees of his Power, are to be judged by the nature of the Contract: ſo likewiſe Bodies of Men can give themſelves up in different degrees to the Conduct of others: and therefore

though all those may carry the same Name of *King*, yet every ones Power is to be taken from the measures of that Authority which is lodged in him, and not from any general Speculations founded on some Equivocal Terms, such as *King*, *Sovereign*, or *Supream*.

VI. It is certain, that God, as the Creator and Governour of the World, may set up whom he will to rule over other Men: But this Declaration of his Will must be made evident by Prophets, or other extraordinary Men sent of him, who have some manifest Proofs of the Divine Authority that is committed to them on such occasions, and upon such Persons declaring the Will of God in favour of any others, that Declaration is to be submitted to and obeyed. But this pretence of a Divine Delegation, can be carried no further than to those who are thus expresly marked out, and is unjustly claimed by those who can prove no such Declaration to have been ever made in favour of them, or their Families. Nor does it appear reasonable to conclude from their being in Possession, that it is the Will of God that it should be so, this justifies all Usurpers when they are successful.

VII. The measures of *Power*, and by consequence of *Obedience*, must be taken from the expres Laws of any State or Body of Men, from the Oaths that they swear, or from immemorial Prescription, and so long Possession, which both give a Title, and in a long Tract of Time make a bad one become good, since Prescription, when it passes the Memory of Man, and is not disputed by any other Pretender, gives by the common Sense of all Men a just and good Title: so upon the whole matter, the degrees of all Civil Authority are to be taken either from expres Laws, immemorial Customs, or from particular Oaths, which the Subjects swear to their Princes: this being still to be laid down for a Principle, that in all the Disputes between *Power* and *Liberty*, *Power* must always be proved, but *Liberty* proves it self; the one being founded only upon a Positive Law, and the other upon the Law of Nature.

VIII. If from the general Principles of Human Society, and Natural Religion, we carry this matter to be examined by the Scriptures, it is clear that all the Passages that are in the Old Testament, are not to be made use of in this matter of the

ther ſide. For as the Land of *Canaan* was given to the *Jews* by an immediate Grant from Heaven; ſo God reſerved ſtill this to himſelf, and to the Declarations that he ſhould make from time to time, either by his Prophets, or by the Anſwers that came from the Cloud of Glory that was between the Cherubims, to ſet up Judges or Kings over them, and to pull them down again as he thought fit. Here was an expreſs Delegation made by God, and therefore all that was done in that Diſpenſation, either for or againſt Princes, is not to be made uſe of in any other State that is founded on another Bottom and Conſtitution, and all the Expreſſions in the Old Teſtament relating to *Kings*, ſince they belong to Perſons that were immediately deſigned by God, are without any ſort of Reaſon applied to thoſe who can pretend to no ſuch Deſignation, neither for themſelves, nor for their Anceſtors.

IX. As for the New Teſtament, it is plain, that there are no Rules given in it, neither for the *Forms of Government* in general, nor for the degrees of any one Form in particular, but the general Rules of Juſtice, Order and Peace, being eſtabliſhed in it upon higher Motives, and more binding Conſiderations, than ever they were in any other Religion whatſoever, we are moſt ſtrictly bound by it to obſerve the Conſtitution in which we are; and it is plain, that the Rules ſet us in the Goſpel can be carried no further. It is indeed clear from the New Teſtament, that the Chriſtian Religion as ſuch, gives us no grounds to defend or propagate it by force. It is a Doctrine of the Croſs, and of Faith, and Patience under it: And if by the order of Divine Providence, and of any Conſtitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under Sufferings for our profeſſing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any ſuch Country if we can; but if that is denied us, we muſt then, according to this Religion, ſubmit to thoſe Sufferings under which we may be brought, conſidering that God will be glorified by us in ſo doing, and that he will both ſupport us under our Suffering, and gloriouſly reward us for them.

This was the State of the *Chriſtian Religion*, during the three firſt *Centuries*, under Heathen *Emperors*, and a Conſtitution in which *Paganiſm* was eſtabliſh'd by Law. But if by the

Laws of any Government, the *Christian Religion*, or any Form of it, is become a part of the Subjects *Property*, it then falls under another Consideration; not as it is a *Religion*, but as it is become one of the principal Rights of the Subjects to believe and profess it: and then we must judg of the Invasions made on that, as we do of any other Invasion that is made on our other *Rights*.

X. All the Passages in the *New Testament* that relate to *Civil Government*, are to be expounded as they were truly meant, in opposition to that false Notion of the *Jews*, who believed themselves to be so immediately under the Divine Authority, that they could not become the Subjects of any other Power, particularly of one that was not of their Nation, or of their Religion; therefore they thought they could not be under the *Roman* Yoke, nor bound to pay Tribute to *Cesar*, but judged that they were only subject out of *Fear*, by reason of the Force that lay on them, but not for *Conscience sake*: And so in all their Dispersion, both at *Rome* and elsewhere, they thought they were *God's Freemen*, and made use of this pretended *Liberty as a Cloak of Maliciousness*. In opposition to all which, since in a course of many Years, they had asked the Protection of the *Roman* Yoke, and were come under their Authority, our Saviour ordered them to continue in that, by his saying, *Render to* Cesar *that which is* Cesar's; and both St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, and St. *Peter* in his general *Epistle*, have very positively condemned that pernicious Maxim, but without any formal Declarations made of the Rules or Measures of *Government*. And since both the *People* and *Senate* of *Rome* had acknowledged the Power that *Augustus* had indeed violently usurped, it became Legal when it was thus submitted to, and confirmed both by the *Senate* and *People*: and it was established in his Family by a long Prescription, when those *Epistles* were writ: So that upon the whole matter, all that is in the *New Testament* upon this Subject, imports no more, but that all *Christians* are bound to acquiesce in the *Government*, and submit to it, according to the Constitution that is setled by *Law*.

XI. We are then at last brought to the Constitution of our English Government: So that no general Considerations from Speculations about Soveraign Power, nor from any Passages, either of the *Old* and *New Testament*, ought to determine us in

in this Matter; which must be fixed from the Laws and Regulations that have been made among us. It is then certain, that with Relation to the Executive part of the Government, the Law has lodged that singly in the King; so that the whole Administration of it is in him; but the Legislative Power is lodged between the King and the two Houses of Parliament; so that the Power of making and repealing Laws, is not singly in the King, but only so far as the two Houses concur with him. It is also clear, that the King has such a determined extent of Prerogative, beyond which he has no Authority: As for Instance, If he levies Mony of his People, without a Law impowring him to it, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and asks that to which he has no Right: So that there lies no Obligation on the Subject to grant it; and if any in his Name use Violence for the obtaining it, they are to be looked on as so many Robbers, that invade our Property; and they being violent Aggressors, the Principle of Self-Preservation seems here to take place, and to warrant as violent a Resistance.

XII. There is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a Free Nation, that has its Libertits and Properties reserved to it by many positive and express Laws: If then we have a Right to our Property, we must likewise be supposed to have a Right to preserve it: for those Rights are by the Law secured against the Invasions of the Prerogative, and by consequence we must have a Right to preserve them against those Invasions. It is also evidently declared by our Law, that all Orders and Warrants that are issued out in opposition to them, are null of themselves; and by consequence, any that pretend to have Commissions from the King for those Ends, are to be considered as if they had none at all; since those Commissions being void of themselves, are indeed no Commissions in the Construction of the Law; and therefore those who act in virtue of them, are still to be considered as private Persons who come to invade and disturb us. It is also to be observed, that there are some Points that are justly disputable and doubtful, and others that are so manifest, that it is plain that any Objections that can be made to them, are rather forced Pretences, than so much as plausible Colours. It is true, if the Case is doubtful, the Interest of the publick Peace and Order ought to carry it; but the Case

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is quite different, when the Invasions that are made upon *Liberty* and *Property*, are plain and visible to all that consider them.

XIII. The main and great Difficulty here, is, that though our Government does indeed assert the *Liberty of the Subject*, yet there are many express Laws made, that lodg the *Militia* singly in the King, that make it plainly unlawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or any Commissioned by him: And these Laws have been put in the Form of an Oath, which all that have born any Employment, either in Church or State, have sworn; and therefore those Laws for the assuring our *Liberties*, do indeed bind the King's Conscience, and may affect his Ministers; yet since it is a Maxime of our Law, that the *King can do no Wrong*, these cannot be carried so far as to justify our taking Arms against him, be the Transgressions of Laws ever so many and so manifest. And since this has been the constant Doctrine of the Church of *England*, it will be a very heavy Imputation on us, if it appears, that though we held those Opinions, as long as the Court and Crown have favoured us, yet as soon as the Court turns against us, we change our Principles.

XIV. Here is the true Difficulty of this whole Matter, and therefore it ought to be exactly considered: 1. All general Words how large soever, are still supposed to have a tacit Exception and Reserve in them, if the Matter seems to require it. Children are commanded to obey their Parents in *all things*: Wives are declared by the Scripture, to be subject to their Husband *in all things, as the Church is unto Christ*: And yet how comprehensive soever these words may seem to be, there is still a Reserve to be understood in them; and though by our Form of Marriage, the Parties swear to one another *till Death them do part*, yet few doubt but that this Bond is dissolved by Adultery, though it is not named: for odious things ought not to be suspected, and therefore not named upon such occasions: But when they fall out, they carry still their own force with them. 2. When there seems to be a Contradiction between two Articles in the Constitution, we ought to examine which of the two is the most Evident, and the most Important, and so we ought to fix upon it, and then we must give such an accommodating sense to that which seems to contradict it, that so

ſo we may reconcile thoſe together. Here then are two ſeeming Contradictions in our Conſtitution; The one is the Publick Liberty of the Nation; the other is the renouncing of all Reſiſtance, in caſe that were invaded. It is plain, that our Liberty is only a thing that we enjoy at the King's Diſcretion, and during his Pleaſure, if the other againſt all Reſiſtance is to be underſtood according to the utmoſt Extent of the Words. Therefore ſince the chief Deſign of our whole Law, and of all the ſeveral Rules of our Conſtitution, is to ſecure and maintain our Liberty, we ought to lay that down for a Concluſion, that it is both the moſt plain, and the moſt important of the two. And therefore the other Article againſt *Reſiſtance* ought to be ſo ſoftned, as that it do not deſtroy us. 3. Since it is by a Law that Reſiſtance is condemned, we ought to underſtand it in ſuch a ſenſe, as that it does not deſtroy all other Laws: And therefore the intent of this *Law* muſt only relate to the *Executive* Power, which is in the King, and not to the *Legiſlative*, in which we cannot ſuppoſe that our Legiſlators, who made that *Law*, intended to give up that, which we plainly ſee they reſolved ſtill to preſerve entire, according to the Ancient Conſtitution. So then, the not reſiſting the King, can only be applied to the *Executive* Power, that ſo upon no pretence of ill Adminiſtrations in the Execution of the Law, it ſhould be lawful to reſiſt him; but this cannot with any reaſon be extended to an Invaſion of the *Legiſlative* Power, or to a total Subverſion of the Government. For it being plain, that the *Law* did not deſign to lodg that Power in the King; it is alſo plain, that it did not intend to ſecure him in it, in caſe he ſhould ſet about it. 4. The *Law* mentioning the King, or thoſe Commiſſioned by him, ſhews plainly, that it only deſigned to ſecure the King in the Executive Power: for the word Commiſſion neceſſarily importts this, ſince if it is not according to *Law*, it is no Commiſſion; and by Conſequence, thoſe who act in virtue of it, are not Commiſſionated by the King in the Senſe of the *Law*. The King likewiſe imports a Prince clothed by *Law* with the Regal Prerogative; but if he goes to ſubvert the whole Foundation of the Government, he ſubverts that by which he himſelf has his Power, and by conſequence he annuls his own Power; and then he

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ceaſes to be *King*, having endeavoured to deſtroy that upon which his own Authority is founded.

XV. It is acknowledged by the greateſt Aſſertors of Monarchial Power, that in ſome Caſes a *King* may fall from his Power, and in other Caſes that he may fall from the Exerciſe of it. His Deſerting his People, his going about to enſlave, or ſell them to any other; or a furious going about to deſtroy them, are in the opinion of the moſt Monarchical Lawyers, ſuch Abuſes, that they naturally diveſt thoſe that are guilty of them, of their whole Authority. *Infancy* or *Phrenzy* do alſo put them under the Guardianſhip of others. All the Crowned Heads of *Europe* have, at leaſt ſecretly, approved of the putting the late *King* of *Portugal* under a Guardianſhip, and the keeping him ſtill a Priſoner, for a few Acts of Rage, that had been fatal to a very few Perſons: And even our Court gave the firſt countenance to it, though of all others the late King had the leaſt reaſon to have done it, at leaſt laſt of all, ſince it juſtified a younger Brother's ſupplanting the Elder; yet the Evidence of the Thing carried it even againſt Intereſt. Therefore if a King goes about to ſubvert the Government, and to overturn the whole Conſtitution, he by this muſt be ſuppoſed, either to fall from his Power, or at leaſt from the Exerciſe of it, ſo far as that he ought to be put under Guardians; and according to the Caſe of *Portugal*, the next Heir falls naturally to be the Guardian.

XVI. The next Thing to be conſidered, is to ſee in Fact, whether the Foundations of this *Government* have been ſtruck at, and whether thoſe Errors that have been perhaps committed, are only ſuch Malverſations as ought to be imputed only to humane Frailty, and to the Ignorance, Inadvertencies, or Paſſions to which all Princes may be ſubject, as well as other Men. But this will beſt appear, if we conſider what are the Fundamental Points of our Government, and the chief Securities that we have for our Liberties.

The Authority of the Law is indeed all in one word, ſo that if the King pretends to a Power to diſpenſe with Laws, there is nothing left upon which the Subject can depend; and yet as if the Diſpenſing Power were not enough, if Laws are wholly ſuſpended for all Time coming, this is plainly a repealing of them, when likewiſe the Men, in whoſe Hands the Adminiſtration

tion of Juſtice is put by Law, ſuch as Judges and Sheriffs are allowed to tread all Laws under-foot, even thoſe that infer an Incapacity on themſelves if they violate them: this is ſuch a breaking of the whole Conſtitution, that we can no more have the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſo that it is really a Diſſolution of the Government; ſince all Trials, Sentences, and the Executions of them are become ſo many unlawful Acts, that are null and void of themſelves.

The next Thing in our Conſtitution, which ſecures to us our *Laws* and *Liberties*, is a *Free* and *Lawful Parliament*. Now, not to mention the breach of the *Law* of *Triennial Parliaments*, it being above three Years ſince we had a Seſſion that enacted any Law; Methods have been taken, and are daily a taking, that render this impoſſible. *Parliaments* ought to be choſen with an entire Liberty, and without either Force or Preingagements: whereas if all Men are required before-hand to enter into Engagements, how they will vote if they are choſen themſelves? or how they will give their Voices in the electing of others? This is plainly ſuch a preparation to a *Parliament*, as would indeed make it no *Parliament*, but a *Cabal*, if one were choſen after all that Corruption of Perſons who had preingaged themſelves, and after the Threating and Turning out of all Perſons out of Imployments who had refuſed to do it: And if there are ſuch daily Regulations made in the Towns, that it is plain thoſe who manage them, intend at laſt to put ſuch a number of Men in the Corporations, as will certainly chooſe the Perſons who are recommended to them. But above all, if there are ſuch a number of Sheriffs and Mayors made over *England*, by whom the Elections muſt be conducted and returned, who are now under an Incapacity by Law, and ſo are no legal Officers, and by conſequence thoſe Elections that paſs under their Authority are null and void: If, I ſay, it is clear that things are brought to this, then the Government is diſſolved, becauſe it is impoſſible to have a *Free and Legal Parliament* in this ſtate of things. If then both the Authority of the *Law*, and the Conſtitution of the *Parliament* are ſtruck at and diſſolved, here is a plain Subverſion of the whole Government. But if we enter next into the particular Branches of the Government, we will find the like Diſorder among them all.

The Protestant Religion, and the Church of *England* make a great Article of our Government, the latter being secured, not only of old by *Magna Charta*, but by many special *Laws* made of late; and there are particular *Laws* made in K. *Charles* the First, and the late King's Time, securing them from all Commissions that the King can raise for Judging or Censuring them. If then in opposition to this, a Court so condemned is erected, which proceeds to judg and censure the Clergy, and even to disseise them of their Free-holds, without so much as the form of a Trial, though this is the most indispensible *Law* of all those that secure the Property of *England*; and if the King pretends that he can require the Clergy to publish all his Arbitrary Declarations, and in particular one that strikes at their whole Settlement, and has ordered Process to be begun against all that disobey'd this illegal Warrant; and has treated so great a number of the Bishops as Criminals, only for representing to him the Reasons of their not obeying him. If likewise the King is not satisfied to profess his own Religion openly, though even that is contrary to *Law*, but has sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and received Nuncio's from thence, which is plainly Treason by Law; If likewise many Popish Churches and Chappels have been publickly opened; if several Colledges of Jesuits have been set up in divers parts of the Nation, and one of the Order has been made a Privy Counsellor, and a principal Minister of State: And if Papists, and even those who turn to that Religion, though declared Traitors by *Law*, are brought into all the chief Imployments, both Military and Civil; then it is plain, That all the Rights of the Church of *England*, and the whole Establishment of the Protestant Religion are struck at, and design'd to be overturn'd; since all these Things, as they are notoriously illegal, so they evidently demonstrate, That the great Design of them all, is the rooting out of this Pestilent Heresy, in their Stile, I mean, the Protestant Religion.

In the next place, If in the whole course of Justice, it is visible that there is a constant practising upon the Judges, that they are turned out upon their varying from the Intentions of the Court; and if Men of no Reputation nor Abilities are put in their places; If an Army is kept up in time of Peace, and Men who withdraw from that illegal Service, are hanged up as

Criminals

Criminals, without any colour of Law, which by consequence are so many Murders; and if the Souldiery are connived at and encouraged in the most enormous Crimes, that so they may be thereby prepared to commit greater ones, and from single Rapes and Murders proceed to a Rape upon all our Liberties, and a Destruction of the Nation: If, I say, all these things are true in Fact; then it is plain, that there is such a Dissolution of the Government made, that there is not any one part of it left sound and entire: And if all these things are done now, it is easy to imagine what may be expected, when Arbitrary Power, that spares to Man, and Popery that spares no Heretick, are finally established: Then we may look for nothing but Gabelles, Tailles, Impositions, Beneviolences, and all sorts of Illegal Taxes; as from the other we may expect Burning, Massacres, and Inquisitions. In what is doing in *Scotland*, we may gather what is to be expected in *England*; where if the King has over and over again declared, that he is vested with an Absolute Power, to which all are bound to obey without reserve, and has upon that annulled almost all the Acts of Parliament that passed in K. *James* I. Minority, though they were ratified by himself when he came to be of Age, and were confirmed by all the subsequent Kings, not excepting the present. We must then conclude from thence, what is resolved on here in *England*, and what will be put in Execution as soon as it is thought that the Times can bear it. When likewise the whole Settlement of *Ireland* is shaken, and the Army that was raised, and is maintained by Taxes that were given for an Army of *English* Protestants, to secure them from a new Massacre by the *Irish* Papists, is now all filled with *Irish* Papists, as well as almost all the other Imployments; it is plain, that not only all the *British* Protestants inhabiting that Island, are in daily danger of being butchered a second time, but that the Crown of *England* is in danger of losing that Island, it being now put wholly into the Hands and Power of the Native *Irish*, who as they formerly offered themselves up sometimes to the Crown of *Spain*, sometimes to the Pope, and once to the Duke of *Lorrain*, so are they perhaps at this present treating with another Court for the Sale and Surrender of the Island, and for the Massacre of the English in it.

If thus all the several Branches of our Constitution are dissolved, it might be at least expected that one part should be left entire, and that is the *Regal Dignity*. And yet even that is prostituted, when we see a *young Child* put in the Reversion of it, and pretended to be the *Prince* of *Wales*: concerning whose being born of the *Queen*, there appear to be not only no certain Proofs, but there are all the Presumptions that can possibly be imagined to the contrary. No Proofs were ever given, either to the Princess of *Denmark*, or to any other Protestant Ladies, in whom we ought to repose any Confidence, that the *Queen* was ever with Child; that whole Matter being managed with so much Mysteriousness, that there were violent and publick Suspicions of it before the Birth. But the whole Contrivance of the Birth, the sending away the Princess of *Denmark*, the sudden shortning of the *Reckoning*, the *Queen's* sudden going to St. *James's*, her no less sudden pretended Delivery; the hurrying the Child into another Room without shewing it to those present, and without their hearing it cry; and the mysterious Conduct of all since that time; no Satisfaction being given to the Princess of *Denmark* upon her Return from the *Bath*, nor to any other Protestant Ladies, of the *Queen's* having been really brought to Bed. These are all such evident Indications of a base Imposture in this Matter, that as the Nation has the justest Reason in the World to doubt of it, so they have all possible Reason to be at no quiet till they see a Legal and Free Parliament assembled, which may impartially, and without either Fear or Corruption, examine that whole Matter.

If all these Matters are true in Fact, then I suppose no Man will doubt, that the whole Foundations of this Government, and all the most sacred Parts of it, are overturned. And as to the Truth of all these Suppositions, that is left to every *English-man's* Judgment and Sense.

# A REVIEW of the REFLECTIONS ON THE Prince of ORANGE's DECLARATION.

1. THE Prince's unwillingneſs to charge the Government with any thing but what was evident and undeniable, affords the Reflection with which this Paper begins: That all the noiſe of a ſecret League with *France* has been only a feigned Danger, and a falſe Fear, ſince it is not ſo much as mentioned in the Prince's Declaration. It is certain, that the *French* Ambaſſador aſſerted it in a publick Audience, and in a Memorial given in to the States General at the *Hague*; and all the World has clearly ſeen through the Grimmace that the Court of *England* made upon it to Mr. *Skelton*; for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Court of *France* would have publiſhed this Alliance, unleſs it had been made, or that they would have made it, unleſs they had ſeen full Powers for it in Mr. *Skelton*'s hands. But after all, as the Articles of it are ſecret, ſo the Court of *England* having diſown'd it, the Prince's exactneſs in not mentioning a doubtful thing, deſerved rather a Reflection in his Favour.

2. The Reflector is offended at the Prince's uſing the Stile of We and Us, for it ſeems *Thou* and *Thee* are ſo dear to him, that he cannot hear any thing out of that Cant. But though by the Connivance of our Court, *France* has robb'd the Prince of his Principality, yet the Rights and Dignity of a Soveraign Prince remain ſtill with him, which will juſtify his ſpeaking in the plural number: And the other terms of Authority that are

are in his Declaration, being the usual Stile of all that command Armies, his using them imports no more, than that he is resolved to use Force for the restoring of our Liberty; and if the Stile is a little high, it is their fault who would not hearken to softer and humbler Representations, and that had made it a Crime so much as to Petition.

3. There is nothing works more on weak People, than the fastning an ill Name even on the best Actions, and therefore *Invasion* being a Term that naturally gives Horror, the Reflector fastens that upon the Prince's Attempt to save the Nation; but things appear now too broad to be disguised, and therefore the wise and worthy part of the Nation esteems that to be a *Deliverance*, which is here called an *Invasion*. It is true, the Prince promises to send back his Forces, which imports, that he intends to stay behind; for he having engaged to see a Free Parliament called and assembled, must stay after his Army is sent away, since no Parliament can be chosen with Freedom, while the Nation is over-awed by a Military Power; but when that is laid down of all hands, then the Prince will be obliged to see the Promise that he has made to the Nation for a Free Parliament executed. So that all the malicious Insinuations of his aspiring to be King, which return so often in the Reflections, are thrown out only to create an unjust Jealousie of His Highness's Intentions.

4. The Security which the Reflector promises to the Nation, and the Religion, by the Concurrence of Protestants to save the Court, is now a little too late, the same Cheat will hardly pass twice. This had once a great effect in bringing the Nation off from the design of the Exclusion, and Men in the simplicity of their Heart believed it. But the Court has taken so much pains to convince them of their Error, and has succeeded so effectually in it, that it is too great an imposing upon us, to fancy that we can be so soon deluded again in the same manner. We know now, by sad expererience, what all the Promises and Oaths that a Papist can make to Protestants do signify; and we see how little is to be built even on the Honour of a Prince, when a Jesuit has the keeping of his Conscience. Nor can it be any Reproach on our Religion, if the Nation comes under the Protection of a Prince that has so

ſo near an Intereſt in the Succeſſion to the Crown, to preſerve it ſelf and the Eſtabliſh'd Religion from the Conſpiracies of thoſe who intend to deſtroy both, and had made a great way in it, and would have probably brought their Deſigns to a full Ripeneſs this Winter, if the Prince's coming had not check'd them. The Reflector thinks the Prince ought to have turned his Arms rather on *France*, and allows that he has a juſt Right to do it. But *England* had a greater Title to his Protection, and ought to have been firſt taken care of by him, and when that is once done, the Propoſition here made, with relation to *France*, may be more ſeaſonable.

5. Great Exceptions are taken, becauſe the Prince founds the Invaſions that are made on the Proteſtant Religion, on this, that it is the Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law; ſince our Reflector tells us, that it is the Truth and not the Legality of a Religion that is its Warrant; and that otherwiſe Paganiſm and Judaiſm had been ſtill the Eſtabliſh'd Religion. But the Reflector confounds things of different Natures. If we conſider Religion, as it gives us a Title to the Favour of God, and to Eternal Happineſs, we ought to have no regard but to the Truth of it. But when Religion is conſidered as the firſt of all Civil Rights, then the Legal Eſtabliſhment is the Foundation of its Title: And if Legiſlators had not changed Laws, Paganiſm had been ſtill the Legal Religion, notwithſtanding its falſhood; and though the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion is the only ground upon which we believe it, yet it muſt become Legal as well as it is true, before we can claim the Protection of the Law and the Government that has ſecured it to us; ſo that to fight againſt Popery, where that is the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, is as certainly a Sin, as it is a Debt that we owe our Religion and Country, to fight for the Proteſtant Religion, when the Law is for it, and illegal Violence is imployed to pull it down.

6. The Reflector's Common-place-ſtuff, with relation to the Diſpenſing Power, has been ſo oft expoſed, that it ſcarce deſerves a Review. The Obligation of all Laws depends on the force of the Penalties againſt Trangreſſors; ſo that the Diſpenſing with Penal Laws, carries in it the Diſpenſing with all Laws whatſoever; and by this Doctrine, the whole Frame and Security of our Government is at the King's Diſcretion:

Nor

Nor will that distinction of *malum in se*, and *malum prohibitum* save the matter, unless all the World were agreed upon the point, What things are evil of themselves, and what not. In the sense of a Papist, all the Laws against their Religion are so far from being Obligatory of their own Nature, that they are impious Attempts upon that Authority which they think infallible. Therefore all the distinction that is offered to save us from the exorbitancy of this Dispensing Power, as if it could not reach to things that are evil of themselves, is of no force, unless a measure were laid down, in which both Protestants and Papists were agreed concerning things that are good or evil of themselves. For instance, Murther is allowed by all to be evil of it self; yet if the Extirpation of Hereticks is a Duty incumbent on a Catholick King, as we are sure it is, then a Commission given to destroy us, would be a justifiable Action; and so the Laws against Murder and Manslaughter might in that case be dispensed with, since the killing of Hereticks is by the Doctrine of Papists only *Malum prohibitum*, and not *malum in se*.

7. Our Author might have spar'd his Rhetorick how well soever he loads it upon the Head of Persecution and Liberty of Conscience, if it had been but for this Reason, that it discover'd too plainly who it was that wrote these Reflections, which perhaps he may have e're long some Reasons to wish it were not so well known, as he has taken pains to do by his luxuriant Stile. All that can be said on this Head, belongs very pertinently to the Consideration of a Parliament, but is very improperly urged in favour of the bloodiest of all Persecutors, who could not begin their breaking in upon our Laws and our Religion more dextrously than at this of Liberty of Conscience, tho they themselves had been the Authors of all the Severities that had been acted among us, and intended by this shew of Ease to bring us under all the Cruelties of an Inquisition, which is one of the inseparable Perquisites of that bloody Religion.

8. The greatest part of the Invasions made on our Government, that are set forth in the Prince's Declaration, are acknowledged to be such by our Reflector: But he thinks they are now redressed. The High Commission is at an end; *Magdalen*

*Alden* Colledge is reſtor'd. If the King had of his own motion, and from a ſenſe of the juſtice of the thing, done all this while he apprehended no danger, and if he had brought the Authors of thoſe Pernicious Councils to condign Puniſhment, then it had been more reaſonable to value thoſe Acts of Juſtice, by which the former Violences had been in ſome meaſure repaired: but what is done in the preſent Circumſtances, ſhews only a meanneſs of Spirit, and a feebleneſs in the Government: And ſome Mens Tempers are too well known, to ſuffer us once to doubt of their returning back to all their former Violences, and of their carrying them on to greater Exceſſes; if God for the ſins of the Nation, ſhould blaſt this Glorious Undertaking. And if the Charters are now reſtor'd, we know by the Proceedings of the late Regulators of Corporations, that it was far from their thoughts but a little while ago; ſo that this is likewiſe an effect of the preſent Fear they are under; and it ſhews that after all their Huffings during their Proſperity, they ſink under Dangers as much as others, whoſe Memory they are ſo careful to blemiſh, how much ſoever they are beholden to them. It is here ſaid, that moſt of the Charters were taken away in the late King's time: But as it is well known under whoſe Influence the laſt years of the late Reign were conducted, ſo the limiting the Elections to a ſpecial number, contrary to Cuſtom and Preſcription, was the Invention of the preſent Reign.

9. But if the Reflector will not juſtify every thing that the Government has done, and thinks the preſent ſtate of things could hardly bear ſo groſs an Abuſe; yet he inſiſts often upon this, that theſe Illegal things were fit for the Conſideration and the Redreſs of a Parliament, and that they do not juſtify the Prince of *Orange*'s Attempt. But the Prince's Deſign is only to ſee a Free Parliament Choſen and Aſſembled according to Law. For our Author and his Complices (for he reckons himſelf in the Miniſtry §. 23. when he names the things objected againſt the Miniſtry, as objected *againſt us*,) had taken ſuch care to keep off a Parliament, and to overturn all Corporations, to corrupt all Elections, and to provide for falſe Returns by Popiſh Sheriffs and Mayors, that we were out of all hopes, or rather out of a poſſibility of ever ſeeing a Free Parliament again; ſo that any nearer Proſpect that we now have

of one, is wholly owing to the Prince's Undertaking; and indeed what is given us at present, is done with so ill a Grace, and the Popish and corrupt Ministry, is still preserved and cherished with so particular a Confidence, that they seem to have a mind to make the Nation see that all is done so grossly, that those who are cheated by it, will have no excuse for their Folly, since the *trick* is acted with too bare a face to pass on any.

10. The Reflector thinks that the Prince ought to have complained to the King of these Abuses, though in other places of this Paper, he pretends that the Prince was not a proper Judg in those Matters; he aggravates the Prince's breaking with an Uncle and a Father-in-Law without warning given. Indeed, if this were the Case, all that could be said upon it, was, that he had copied from the Pattern that was set him in 1672, in that famous Attempt on the *Smirna* Fleet: What Complaint the Prince made, or what encouragement he had to make any, and how they were entertain'd and answer'd, are domestick matters, of which the World knows little, since all that has appear'd in publick is in Mr. *Fagel*'s Letter, and how well that was received, and how civilly it was answer'd, all *England* saw. It is true, the Prince is very nearly related to the King, but there are other Ties stronger than the Bonds of Flesh and Blood; He owes more to the Protestant Religion and to the Nation, than can be defaced by any other Relation whatsoever; and if the failing in one Relation excuses the other, then enough might be said, to shew at what pains the Court of *England* has been, to free the Prince from all other Engagements, except those of *Loving Enemies*, and doing good to those who *despitefully use us*, for upon this account the Prince lies under all possible Obligations.

11. The Reflector thinks, that those who left *Ireland*, were driven by a needless Fear; but tho' he has no reason to apprehend much from the *Irish* Papists, yet those who saw the last Bloody *Massacre*, may be forgiven, if they have no mind to see such another. He faintly blames that great Change that was lately made in the whole Government of *Ireland*; but he presently excuses it, since it was natural for the King and his Friends to desire to be safe some where; till they had fair Quarter in *England*, they must make sure of *Ireland*; but he adds

that as ſoon as that was done, the thing muſt have returned into its old Channel again. This ought to be writ only to *Iriſhmen*, for none of a higher ſize of Underſtanding can bear it; if it can ever be ſhewed that Papiſts have yielded up any thing, which they had once wrung out of the Hands of Proteſtants, except when they were forced to it; we may believe this, and all the other groſs things which are here impoſed on us. The plain Caſe was, the Papiſts reſolved to deſtroy us, and to put themſelves in caſe to do it as ſoon as was poſſible. So they went about it immediately in *Ireland*, only they have delay'd the giving the Signal for a new *Maſſacre*, till Matters were ripe for it in *England*.

12. The Reflector has reaſon to avoid the ſaying any thing to the Article of *Scotland*, for even his Confidence could not ſupport him in juſtifying the King's claiming an Abſolute Power, to which all are bound to obey without reſerve, and the Repealing of a great many Laws upon that Pretenſion; this is too groſs for Humane Nature, and the Principles of all Religions whatſoever. Our Author avoids ſpeaking to it, becauſe he does not know the Extent of the Prerogative of that Crown. But no Prerogative can go to an Obedience without Reſerve, nor can Abſolute Power conſiſt with any Legal Government.

13. The Declaration had ſet forth, that the Evil Counſellors had repreſented the Expedient, offer'd by the Prince and Princeſs, as offer'd on deſign to diſturb the Quiet and Happineſs of the Kingdom; upon which the Reflector beſtows this kind Remark on the Miniſtry: And did they not ſay true, as it happens? Believe me, ſome Folks think many of them are not often guilty of ſuch foreſight: The Writer is angry that his Side is not uppermoſt; and tho' he includes himſelf in the Miniſtry by ſaying Us, when he ſpeaks of them, yet here, tho' he was to cenſure the Party that is againſt him, he diſtinguiſhes them, by ſaying, many of the Counſellors uſe not to have ſuch foreſight: But perhaps they can object as much to his foreſight, and with as much reaſon. But if the King comes up to Mr. *Fagel*'s Letter, why was it rejected with ſo much Scorn, and anſwered with ſo much Inſolence? Now perhaps they would hearken to it, when they have brought both themſelves and the Nation to the brink of Ruin, by their mad Councils: But

they ought to be forgiven, since they have been true to the Principles and Dictates of their Religion.

14. Our Reflector thinks a Free Parliament a *Chimera*, and indeed he and his Friends have been at a great deal of pains to render it impossible. But perhaps he may be quickly cured of his Error, and a Free One is the sooner like to be chosen, when he, and such as he, are set at a due distance from the Publick Councils. If Members are sometimes chosen by Drinking, and other Practices, this is bad enough, but still it is not so bad as the laying a Force upon the Electors, and a Restraint upon the Election. Nor is it very much to the King's Honour, to remember how the last Parliament was chosen; it was indeed a very disgusting Essay in the beginning of a Reign, and gave a sad prospect of what might be look'd for; but if one Violence was born with, when the struggle of another Party seemed to excuse it; this does not prove that a course of such Violences, when the Design is become both more visible, and less excusable, ought to be endured. If the Members of that Parliament proved Worthy Patriots, I do not see why they ought not to be remembred with Honour, tho' there is a great deal to be said upon their first elevation to that Character, which they maintained indeed nobly; so that if the first Conception of the Parliament was Irregular, yet its End was Honourable, since never a Parliament was diffely'd upon a more Glorious Account.

15. The Reflector sets up all his Sail, when he enters upon the Article of the pretended Prince of *Wales*: This was a Point by which he hoped to merit highly, and upon that, to gain Ground on that Party of the Court, on whom he had reflected with so much scorn. Therefore here must the Prince be attack'd, with all the malicious Force to which his Rhetorick could carry him; and all those Men of Honour that went over to wait on him at the *Hague* and to represent to him the bleeding and desperate Condition of the Nation, must be stigmatized as a lewd Crew of Renegadoes; tho, I must tell him, that the common acceptation of Renegado, is one that changes his Religion, and by this he will find some near him to whom that Character belongs more justly. He almost blames the King for the low Step he lately made to prove that Birth: It was a low one indeed,

deed, to make ſo much ado, and to bring together ſuch a Solemn Appearance, to hear ſo ſlight a Proof produced; which could have no other Effect, but to make the Impoſture ſo much the more viſible, when the utmoſt Attempts to ſupport it, appear to be now ſo feeble, that as to the main Point of the Queen's bearing the Child, there is not ſo much as a colour of a Proof produc'd: And it is certain, that if this had been a fair thing, the Court would have ſo managed it, that it ſhould not have been in the Power of any Mortal to have called it in queſtion: And on the other hand, they have ſo managed it, that one muſt needs ſee, in every ſtep of it, broad Marks of an Impoſture. It will not be half Proofs, nor ſuborned Witneſſes, that will ſatisfy the Nation in ſo great a Point. But I will enter into no Particulars relating to this Buſineſs, which will be better laid open when a Free Parliament meets to examine it.

16. The Reflector charges upon the Prince all the Miſeries that may follow on a War, as an unſuitable return to the Kindneſs that the Nation has ſhewed him. But if the Diſſolution of the Government, brought on by the Court, has given a juſt Riſe to his coming, then the ill Effects that may fall out in the Progreſs of his Deſign, are no more to be charged on him, than the Miſeries to which a ſevere Cure of the ill Effects of a wilful Diſorder, expoſe a Patient, ought to be imputed to a Phyſician, that betrays his Patient if he flatters him; and that muſt apply violent Remedies to obſtinate Diſtempers. I do not hear from other Hands, that the Lords and Biſhops about the City have diſowned their inviting the Prince: and I do not believe it the better, becauſe the Author affirms it. But if it were true, there are others in *England* beſides thoſe about the City: ſo the thing may be true, though a few about the City had not been in it. A ſmall Civility is beſtowed on the Prince, when it is ſaid, that he would not have affirmed it, if he did not believe it; but this is ſoon taken off, and it is ſaid, doubtleſs he was abuſed in this. If this is to be ſuppoſed, the Prince is as weak a Man, as his Enemies, for their own ſakes, ought to wiſh to be; if he could ſuffer himſelf to be engaged in a matter of this nature, without being well aſſured of the grounds he went on.

17. What

17. What is ſaid of the Prince's referring all matters to the determination of a Free Parliament, is too flat to require an Anſwer: This was a plauſible thing, and therefore it ought to have been either quite paſt over, or ſomewhat of force ought to have been ſet againſt it. This is not the referring of other peoples Rights to a Parliament; but the leaving the healing of the Nation to thoſe who are its proper Phyſicians. And the taking a Cure out of the hands of the Court, inſtead of that, is like the renouncing a ſure Method and a good Phyſician, and the hearkening to the arrogant promiſes of a bold Mountebank. The Prince has promiſed to ſend away his Army as ſoon as the ſtate of the Nation will permit, upon which the Reflector ſays, that here is but a Foreigner's word againſt our own King's; and he refers it to our Allegiance to judg; which of the two we ought to truſt. But I cannot find out in what the Prince's promiſe contradicts any that the King has made; for I do not hear that the King has promiſed that theſe Tropps ſhall not return; and unleſs that were the Caſe, I cannot find out the Contradiction; and after all, if we muſt ſpeak out, there is ſome odds to be made between a Prince whoſe Religion, as well as his Honour, has ever determined him to keep all his Promiſes, and another whoſe Religion has taught him ſo often to make bold with all his.

18. The *Prince*'s ſummoning the Nobility and Gentry, as it is the uſual ſtile of all Generals, ſo it requires them only to appear and to act for their Country and their Religion; and his promiſing to have a *Parliament* called in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, imports no more but that he is come with a Reſolution to have the Government ſetled on its true Baſis, and that he will ſee it done.

19. The Reflector is in great wrath, becauſe the *Prince* has, in his Additional Declaration, ſhewed how little regard ought to be had to that imperfect Redreſs of Grievances that has been offered of late. But it had been a concurring in the Cheat, to ſuffer it to paſs, without laying it open: When fair things are offered from Men to whom we ought to truſt, it is as ſeaſonable to receive them, as it is to reject all deceitful things, when the Truth is apparent. Therefore as the *Prince* had no reaſon to abandon the Cure of the Nation, after the ſteps that he had made, becauſe of the endeavours

endeavours of the Court to lay it aſleep; ſo he has ſo purged himſelf from the Imputations of deſigning a Conqueſt, that all our Reflector's Malice cannot make them ſtick; and all that Noble Company that came over with him, and that have ſince come in to him, are a proof of this beyond Exception. Let all Men of Senſe judg, whether an Army compoſed of ſo many *Iriſh Papiſts*, or another made up of ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen of great Families and Eſtates, are likelieſt to ſet about the Conquering the Nation.

20. He fancies, that what the Prince gets by the Sword, he will keep by the Sword: And upon this he tells us, that he ſaid Once to the King, that the bringing the *Dutch Army* to the Diſcipline in which it was, had coſt 1300 Lives: Upon which he wiſhes thoſe who value the *Magna Charta*, and Trials by Juries, to make ſome Reflections. But ſince the Situation and Conſtitution of *Holland*, makes an Army neceſſary to them; and ſince they have provided, by particular Laws, that Marſhal Diſcipline ſhould be maintain'd by a Council of War, nothing could have been contriv'd more for the Prince's Honour, than to tell us that he has ſo ordered the Matter, that the Army is become one of the moſt regular and inoffenſive Bodies of Men that is in all *Holland:* which this Nation ſees now, with no ſmall aſtoniſhment; to whom one Regiment of *Iriſh* has given more Fear and Diſorder, than this great Army has done to the places through which it has paſſed. The Reflector tells us alſo, as a very ridiculous thing, that the Prince, who has left the *Dutch* no Liberty at Home, comes now to ſecure ours here. And to make the Parallel compleat, between the Prince and a near Relation of his, he pretends that he broke his Oath to the States of *Holland*, he having promiſed never to be *Statholder*, though it ſhould be offer'd him: And to conclude all againſt him, he ſays, there is no more proportion between the Ancient Liberties of *Holland*, and his preſent Government, than there is between *London* and *Brandford*. Here is the Force of all his Malice, but we who have ſeen the State of Affairs in *Holland*, and the Freedom of the Government there, know that *England* can wiſh for no greater Happineſs, than that the Laws and Government here, may be maintained as exactly here, as they are there: And the late Unanimous Con-

Concurrence of all the Provinces, and of all the Negatives in every Province, and not only of all the Members in every one of these Bodies, but indeed of the whole People all over the Provinces, *Amsterdam* it self leading the way to all the rest, by which they gave their Fleet, their Army, and their Treasure so frankly up to the *Prince*, was an Evidence of his good Government, beyond all that can be set forth in words; for real Arguments conclude always truly. And for the *Prince's* Oath, it was an Obligation to the States, and was intended, even by those who framed it, only to hinder all Caballing for obtaining any such Offer to be made him. But when they were brought to that Extremity, to which we helped to drive them, so that there was a change made in the greatest part of the whole Government, they Unanimously found the necessity of Vesting the *Prince* with the full Authority of *Statholder*; and therefore the Oath being made to them, it was in their power to give it up: So that here was no breach of Oath, but only a Relaxation of the Obligation that was made to the States. The Reflections end with a piece of Railery, which might pass, if it were either witty or decent: But if the things that are objected seem irregular, I fancy that Mr. *Pen*'s writing for Popery, and Mr. *Stewart*'s for Tyranny, are things every whit as Incongruous as any of these, with which the Reflector diverts himself.

Printed for *John Starkey*, 1688.

THE

# THE CITATION OF *GILBERT BURNET*, D.D.

*To answer in* Scotland, *on the 27th of* June, *Old Stile, for* High Treason: *Together with his Answer: And* Three Letters *writ by him upon that Subject, to the Right Honourable the Earl of* Middletoun, *his Majesty's Secretary of State.*

I Know the Disadvantages of pleading ones Innocence, especially when he is prosecuted at the Suit of his Natural *Prince*, to whom he owes so profound a Duty: and this has kept me so long in a respectful silence, after I had seen my Name in so many *Gazettes*, aspersed with the blackest of all Crimes: But there is both a time to be silent, and a time to speak. And as hitherto I have kept my self within the bounds of the one, so I do now take the Liberty which the other allows me: But I was not hitherto silent where I ought to speak; for I have made many humble Addresses to his Majesty, by the Earl of *Middletoun* his Secretary of State; hoping that my Innocence, joined with my most humble Duty, would have broke through all those Prejudices and false Informations with which my Enemies had possessed his Majesty against me.

Upon the first Notice that I had of his Majesty's having writ to the *Privy Council* in *Scotland*, ordering *Process* to be issued out against me for *High Treason*, I writ my *First Letter*: In that I could enter into no Particulars; for in the Advertisement that was sent me, it was said, that there was no special Matter

laid to my Charge in the *King's Letter*. Some days after that, I received a Copy of my *Citation*, to which I presently writ an *Answer*, and sent that with my *Second Letter* to the same *Noble Person*; to both these *Letters* I received no Answer; but I was advertised, that some Exceptions were taken at some words in my *First Letter*, and this led me to write my *Third Letter*, for explaining and justifying those words. I have kept my self thus within all those Bounds that I thought my Duty set me; and am not a little troubled, that I am now forced to speak for my self. I have delayed doing it, as long as I had any reason to hope, that my Justification of my self was like to produce the Effect which I most humbly desired, and which I expected: But now the *Day* of my Appearance being come, in which it is probable *Sentence* will pass against me, since I have had no Intimations given me to the contrary, I hope it will not shew either the least Impatience, or the want of that Submission, which I have on all Occasions payed to every thing that comes to me from that Authority, under which God had placed me, that I publish these Papers for my own Vindication. If it had been only in defence of my *Life* and *Reputation*, that I had been led to appear in such a manner, I could have more easily restrained my self: and have left these to be Sacrifices to the Unjust Rage of those, who have so far prevailed on his Majesty's readiness to believe them, as to drive this Matter so far: but the Honour of that *Holy Religion* which I profess, and the Regard I bear to that *Sacred Function* to which I am dedicated, lay such Obligations on me, that I am determined by them, to declare my Innocence to the World; which I intend to do more copiously within a little while: but in the mean time, I hope the following *Papers* will serve to shew how clear I am of all the Matters that are laid to my charge.

There is one Particular, which is come to my knowledg since I writ my Answer, that will yet more evidently discover my Innocence: I have received certain Informations from *England*, that both *Sir John Cochran* and his *Son*, and *Mr. Baxter*, have declared upon many occasions, and to many Persons, that they cannot imagin how they come to be cited as *Witnesses* against me; that they can scarce believe it can be true; since they

they know nothing that can be any way to my Prejudice; and that they must clear me of all the Matters objected to me in this *Citation:* and the *two Witnesses*, that as it seems are cited for that *Article* that relates to *Holland*, have solemnly declared, that they know nothing relating to me, or to the Matters specified in this *Citation*, which *one* of them has signified to my self in a *Letter* under his hand; so that the Falsehood of this *Accusation* is so evident, that it serves to discover the Folly, as well as the Impudence of those who have contrived it.

But it is yet too early to set on a *Persecution* for *Matters of Religion*; therefore Crimes against the *State* must be pretended, and fastned on those whom these Men intend to destroy. And as foul and black Scandals are invented to Defame me, and put in the mouths of those who are ready to believe and report every thing that may disgrace me, without considering that they do a thing that is as unbecoming them, as it is Base and Injust in it self; so all Arts are used to destroy me; but I trust to the Protection of that GREAT GOD, who sees the Injustice that is done me, and who will in his own Time and Way vindicate my Innocence; and under him I trust to the Protection of the *HIGH AND MIGHTY STATES OF HOLLAND AND WEST-FRIESELAND.*

# My First LETTER to the Earl of *MIDLETOUNE.*

May it please your Lordship;

THE *Affairs of these* Provinces *belonging to your* Lordship's *share in the* Ministry, *leads me to make this most humble Address to you, and by your* Lordship *to his* Majesty.

*I have received Advertisement from* Scotland, *that the* King *has writ to the* Privy Council, *ordering me to be proceeded against*

for High Treason against his Person and Government: and that pursuant to this, the King's Advocate has cited me to appear there. If any thing in this World can surprise or disorder me, this must needs do it: For as few have writ more, and preach'd oftner against all sorts of Treasonable Doctrines and Practices than my self; so all the Discoveries that have been made of late Years, have been so far from aspersing me, that tho' there has been disposition enough to find fault with me, yet there has not been Matter given so much as for an examination. It is now thirteen Years since I came out of Scotland; and for these last five Years, I have not so much as mentioned the commonest News in any Letter I have writ to any in that Kingdom: I do not mention Acts of Indemnity, because I know that I do not need the benefit of them. I went out of England by his Majesty's Approbation; and I have stayed out of it, because his Majesty expressed his dislike of my returning to it. I am now upon the Point of Marrying in this Country, and am naturalized by the States of Holland: but tho' by this, during my stay here, my Allegiance is translated from his Majesty to the Soveraignty of this Province, yet I will never depart from the profoundest respect to his Sacred Person, and Duty to his Government. Since my coming into these Parts, I have not seen any one Person, either of Scotland or England, that is Outlaw'd for Treason: and when the King took Exceptions at the access I had to the Prince and Princess of Orange, there was not any thing of this kind then objected to me. So I protest unto your Lordship, I do not so much as imagine upon what it is that those Informations, which it seems are brought to his Majesty, are founded.

My Lord, As I am not ashamed of any thing I have done, so I am not affraid of any thing that my Enemies can do to me: I can very easily part with a small Estate, and with a Life of which I have been long weary; and if my Engagements in this Country could dispense with it, I would not avoid the coming to stand my Tryal: but as this cannot be expected in the state in which I am, so I humbly throw my self at His Majestys feet, and beg, that he may not condemn me so much as in his thoughts, till I know what is the Crime that is objected to me, that so I may offer a most humble Justification of my self to him. I shall be infinitely sorry if any Judgment that may pass on me in Scotland, shall oblige me to appear in print in my own Defence: for I cannot betray my own Innocence so far as to suffer a thing of this nature to pass upon me, without Printing

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an Apology *for my ſelf; in which I will be forced to make a recital of all that ſhare that I have had in Affairs theſe twenty years paſt: and in which I muſt mention a vaſt number of particulars*, that I am affraid will be diſpleaſing to His Majeſty: and as I will look on this as one of the greateſt Misfortunes that can poſſibly befall me, ſo with all the Duty and Humility in the World, I beg I may not be driven to it. *I will not preſume to add one word to your* Lordſhip, *nor to claim any ſort of Favour or Protection from you. For I addreſs my ſelf only to your* Lordſhip *as you are the* Kings Miniſter *for theſe* Provinces.

My Lord, I am with all poſſible reſpect,

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

At the *Hague*, *May* the 10*th*, 1687.

Your Lordſhips, *&c.*

## *The* Criminal Letters *at the Inſtance of the* Lord Advocate, *againſt Dr.* Gilbert Burnet.

JAMES, &c. To our Lovits, &c. Herauls, Purſevauts, Macers and Meſſengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially conſtitute, Greeting. Forſamikle as it is humbly meaned and complained to Us be our Right Truſtie and Familiar Councellor, Sir John Dalrymple the Younger, of Stair, our Advocat for our Intereſt, Upon Doctor Gilbert Burnet.

That where, notwithſtanding by the Laws and Acts of Parliament, and conſtant Practique of this our Kingdom, the venting of Sclanderous, Treaſonable and Adviſed Speeches and Poſitions, and the Reproaching

pvoaching our Perſon, Eſtate and Government, and the Recepting, Supplying, Ayding, Aſſiſting, Intercommoning with, and doing Favours to denunced Rebells, or forfaulted Traitors, are puniſhable by Forfaulture of Life, Land and Goods, and particularly by the 134 Act of 8 P. K. Ja. 6. It is Statute Ordained that non of our Subjects, of whatſoever Degree, Eſtate or Quality, ſhall preſume or take upon hand, privatelie or publicklie, in Sermons, Declamation, or Familiar Conferences, to utter any Falſe, Sclanderous or untrue Speeches, to the Diſdain, Repvoach, or Contempt of Us, our Council or Proceedings, or to the Diſhonour, Hurt or Prejudice of Us, or to meddle in our Affairs or Eſtate bygone, preſent, or in tyme coming, under the Pain of Death, and Confiſcation of Moveables. And be the 10 Act 10 P. K. Ja. 6. It is Statute and Ordained, that all our Subjects containe themſelves in Quyetnels and dutifull Obedience to Us, our Government and Authority; and that non of them preſume nor take upon hand publicklie to declame or privatelie to ſpeak or write any Purpoſe of Repvoach, or Sclander againſt our Perſon, Eſtate or Government, or to depvave our Laws and Acts of Parliament, or miſconſtrue our Proceedings, whereby any Diſlike may be moved betwixt Us, our Nobility and Loving Subjects in tyme coming, under the Paine of Death; and that thes that do in the contrair ſhall be repute as Seditious and wicked Inſtruments, Enemies to Us and the Common-weel of this Realm, and that the ſaid Paine of Death ſhall be inflicted upon them with all Rigour in Example of others. And be the ſecond Act 2. Seſſ. of the firſt Parliament of K. Ch. 2. We and our Eſtates of Parliament do declare, that in thes Poſitions, that it is

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Lawful for Subjects upon pretence of Reformation, or any other pretence whatsomever to enter into Leagues or Covenants, or to take up Arms against Us, or thes Commissionat by Us, or to put Limitations upon their due Obedience and Allegiance, are Rebellious and Treasonable; and that all Persons who shall by wryting, Preaching, or other malitious and advysed Speaking, Expres thes Treasonable Intentions, shall be proceeded against and adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer forfaulture of Life, Lands and Goods, lyke as by the third Act 1. P. of K. Ja. 1. and 37. Act of his second Parliament, and be the 9. Act of 13. P. K. James 2. and 144. Act 12. P. K. James 6. And Diverse and Sundry other Laws and Acts of Parliament of this our Kingdom, It is declared High-Treason for any of our Subjects to Recept, Supply or Intercomon with declared or Forfaulted Traitors, or give them Meat, Drink, Hous, Harbour, or any Relief or Comfort, and if they do in the Contrair, they are to undergo the same Paines the said Traitors or Rebels ought to have sustained, if they had bein apprehended.

Nevertheless, It is of Verity, that the said Doctor Gilbert Burnet, shaking off all Fear of God, Conscience and Sense of Duty, Allegeance and Loyalty to Us his Soveraign and Native Prince, upon the Safetie of whose Person and Maintinance of whose Sogeraign Authority and Princely Power, the Happines, Stabilitie and Quyetnes of Our Subjects do depend, Hes most perfidiously and treasonably presumed to commit, and is guilty of the Crimes above mentioned in sua far as Archbald Campbel, sometime Earl of Argyle; James Stewart, Sone to Sir James Stewart, sometime Provost of Edinburgh; Mr. Robert

bert Ferguſon, ſometime Chaplain to the late Earl of Shaftsbury; Thomas Stewart of Cultneſs; William Denholn, ſometime of Weſtſheils; Maſter Robert Martin, ſometime Clerk to our Juſtice-Court; and ſeveral other Rebells and Traitors, being moſt juſtly by our high Courts of Parliaments, and Juſtice Court, Foxfaulted for the Crimes of Treaſon, and fled to our Kingdom of England, and to Holland, Flanders, Geneva, and ſeveral other places. The ſaid Doctor Gibert Burnet did upon the Firſt, Second, and remanent dayes of the Month of January, February, and remanent Months of the Year one thouſand ſix hundred eighty two, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty three, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty four; or January, February, March, or Aprile, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty five; Converſe, Correſpond, and Intercommon with the ſaid Archbald late Earl of Argyle, a Foxfaulted Traitor, and that within the ſaid Doctor Burnet his Dwelling-Houſe in Lincolns-Inne Fields, near the Plow-Inn in our City of London, or Suburbs thereof, or ſome other part or place within our Kingdom of England, Defamed, Sclandered, and Reproached, and Advisedlie ſpoke to the Diſdain and Reproach of our Perſon, Government and Authority, wrote ſeveral Letters, and receaved Anſwers thereto from the ſaid Foxfaulted Traitor when he was in Holland, or elſewhere, expreſſely contrary to his Duty and Allegeance to Us his Soveraign Lord and King. And ſuklick upon the firſt, ſecond, and third dayes of the Months of May, June, July, Auguſt, September, October, November and December, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty five, and upon the firſt, ſecond, and third dayes of the Moneths of January, February, and remanent Moneths of

of the Year one thouſand ſix hundred eighty ſix, and firſt, ſecond and third dayes of the Moneths of January, February, March, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty ſeven; or any or other of the dayes of any or other of the ſaid Moneths or Years; The ſaid Doctor Gilbert Burnet did moſt treaſonable Reſcept, Supplied, Aided, Aſſiſted, Converſed and Intercomoned with, and did Favours to the ſaid James Stewart, Mr. Robert Ferguſon, Thomas Stewart, William Denholm, and Mr. Robert Martyn, forfaulted Traitors and Rebells in the Cityes of Rotterdam, Amſterdam, Leyden, Breda, Geneva; or ſome other part or place within the Netherlands, or ellewhere; publickly and avowedly uttered ſeveral Speeches and Poſitions to the Diſdain of our Perſon, Authority and Government; continues and perſiſts in ſuch undutiful and treaſonable Practiſes againſt Us and Our Government (We being his Soveraign Lord and Prince) expreſſie contrair to his Allegeance and Duty. By committing of the whilk Crimes above ſpecifyed, or either of them, the ſaid Doctor Burnet is guilty and culpable of the Crime of High Treaſon, and is Art and Part thereof, which being found be any Inqueſt, he ought and ſhould to ſuffer Forfaulture of Life, Land and Goods, to the Terror and Example of others to commit the like hereafter. Our Will is, therfore, and we charge you ſtraitlie, and Command, that incontinent this our Letter ſeen, yee paſs, and in our Name and Authority, Command and Charge the ſaid Doctor Gilbert Burnet, above complained upon be ſound of Trumpet with diſplayed Coat, and uſing other Solemnities neceſſar, to come and find ſufficient Caution and Sovertie acted in our Books of Adjournal, that he ſhall compeir before our Lords

Justice Generall, Justice Clerk and Commissioners of Justiciary, within the Tolbuith of Criminall Court house of Edinburgh, the twentie seventh day of June next to come, in the hour of Caus, there to underlie the Law for the Crymes above mentioned, and that under the Paines contained in the new Acts of Parliament; And that yee charge him personally, if he can be apprehended and failzeing thereof at his dwelling-house, and be open Proclamation at the Mercat Croce of the head Burgh of the Shyre, Stewartrie, Regalitie, and other Jurisdiction where he dwells, to come and find the said Sowertie acted in manner foresaid within six dayes, if he be within this our Kingdom, and if he be out with the Sampyre, that ye command and charge him in manner foresaid be open Proclamation at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, Peer and Shoar of Leith, to come and find the said Sowertie within threescore dayes next after he is charged be you thereto under the Paine of Rebellion, and putting of him to our Horne. Quhilk six and threescore dayes respectively being by-past, and the said Sowertie not being found, nor no Intimation made be him to you of the finding thereof, that ye incontinent thereafter denunce him our Rebell, and put him to our Horne, Escheat, and inbring all his moveable Goods and Geir to our use for his Contemption and Disobedience. And if he come and find the said Sowertie, Intimation alwayes being made be him to yow of the finding thereof, that summond and lyle hereto, not exceeding the number of fourtie fyve Persons, together with such Witnesses who best knows the Veritie of the Premisses, whose Names shall be given you in Roll subscribed by the said Complainer, ilk Person under the paine of ane hundred Merks.

And

And that ye within fiftein dayes after his denunciation for not finding of Caution, caus registrate thir Our Letters with your Executions thereof, in Our Books of Adjournal conforme to the Act of Parliament made there-anent. According to Justice as ye will answer to Us thereupon, the whilk to doe Committs to yow conjunctly and severallie Our full Power be thir Our Letters, delyvering them be yow dewlie Execute and Indorsat again to the bearer. Given under Our Signet at Edinburgh the nynteinth day of Aprile, and of Our Reign the third Year, 1687. Ex deliberatione Dominorum Commissionariorum Justiciarii sic subscribitur.

Signed 19. Apryle, 1687. THO. GOFDONNE.

The Witnesses against Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* are,

Sir *John Cochran* of Ockiltree.
*John Cochran* of Watterſyd.
Mr. *Robert West*, Lawyer, Englishman.
Mr. *Zachary Bourne*, Brewer, Englishman.
Mr. *William Carstairs*, Preacher.
*Robert Baird*, Merchant in Holland.
Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Preacher.

# AN ANSWER TO THE *Criminal Letters* issued out against me.

I Look upon it as a particular Misfortune, that I am forced to answer a *Citation* that is made in his *Majesty*'s Name; which will be ever so sacred with me, that nothing but the sense of an Indispensable Duty could draw from me any thing that looks like a contending with that sublime Character.

I owe the Defence of my own *Innocence* and of my *Reputation* and *Life* to my *self*: I owe also to all my *Kindred* and *Friends*, to my *Religion* as I am a *Christian* and a *Protestant*, and to my *Profession* as I am a *Church-man*, and above all, to His *Majesty*, as I am his *born Subject*, such a Vindication of my *Loyalty* and *Integrity*, as may make it appear, that my not going to *Scotland*, according to the Tenour of this *Citation*, does not flow from any sense of Guilt or Fear, but meerly from those Engagements under which I am in *Holland*.

I hope my contradicting or refuting the Matters of Fact set forth in this *Citation*, shall not be so maliciously perverted by any, as if I meant to reflect either on His *Majesty* for writing to his Council of *Scotland*, ordering this *Citation* to be made, or on his *Advocate* for forming it, and issuing it out. But as I acknowledg, that upon the *Information* it seems was offered of those Matters here laid against me, it was very reasonable for His *Majesty* to order Justice to be done upon me; so his *Advocate*, in whose hands those *Informations* it seems are now put, had all possible reason to lay them against me, as he has done; and therefore I will not pretend to make any Exception to the *Laws* and *Acts of Parliament*, set forth in the first part of this *Citation*; but I will only answer

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the matters of Fact laid to my charge; and whatſoever I ſay concerning them, does only belong to my falſe Accuſers; and therefore I hope they will not be look'd on as things in which even his *Majeſties Advocate*, but much leſs his Sacred *Majeſty*, is any way concerned.

I am firſt accuſed for having ſeen, converſed with, and held correſpondence with the late *Earl of Argyle:* and to make this appear the more probable; the place is marked very Critically, where I lived; and where, as it is pretended, we met. But it is now almoſt two Years ſince the late *Argyle* was taken and ſuffered, and that a full account was had of all his ſecret Practices, in all which I have not been once ſo much as mentioned, tho it is now a Year ſince I have lived and preach'd openly in theſe *Provinces*. The truth is, that for nine Years before the late *Earl of Argiles* forfeiture, I had no ſort of correſpondence with him, nor did I ever ſee him ſince the Year 1676. After his eſcape out of Priſon I never ſaw him, nor writ to him, nor heard from him, nor had I any ſort of Commerce with him, directly nor indirectly: the Circumſtance of my Houſe, and the place in which I lived, is added, to make the thing look ſomewhat probable: but tho it is very eaſy to know where I lived, and I having dwelt in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* the ſpace of ſeven Years, it was no hard matter to add this particular; yet ſo Inconſiderate is the Malice of my Enemies, that even in this, it leads them out of the way; for ſoon after *Argile*'s Eſcape, and during the ſtay that, as is believed, he made in *London*, I had removed from *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* into *Brook-buildings*; this makes me gueſs at the *Informer*, who ſaw me often in the one Houſe, but never in the other: and yet even he, who has betraryed all that ever paſt between us, has not Impudence enough to charge me with the leaſt Diſloyalty, tho I concealed very few of my thoughts from him.

With this of my ſeeing the late *Argile*, the *Article* of the Scandalous and Treaſonable words pretended to be ſpoken by me to him, againſt His *Majeſties* Perſon and Government, falls to the ground; it is obvious that this cannot be proved, ſince *Argile* is dead; and it is not pretended that theſe words were uttered in the hearing of other Witneſſes: nor is it needful to add, that His *Majeſty* was then only a Subject, ſo that any

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Words ſpoken of him at that time cannot amount to *Treaſon*: but I can appeal to all thoſe with whom I have ever converſed, if they have ever heard me fail in the reſpect I owed the *King*: and I can eaſily bring many Witneſſes from ſeveral parts of *Europe*, of the Zeal with which I have on all occaſions expreſſed my ſelf on thoſe Subjects; and that none of all thoſe hard Words, that have been ſo Freely beſtowed on me, has made me forget my Duty in the leaſt.

I am in the next place accuſed of Correſpondence with *James Stewart*, Mr. *Robert Perguſon*, *Thomas Stewart*, *William Denholm*, and Mr. *Robert Martyn*, ſince my coming out of *England*; and that I have entertained and ſupplied them in Forreign Parts; particularly in the Cities of *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Leyden*, *Breda*, *Geneva*, or in ſome other parts within the *Netherlands*. This *Article* is ſo very ill laid in all its branches, that it ſhews my Enemies have very ill Informations concerning my moſt general Acquaintance ſince; tho there are, among thoſe that are condemned for Treaſon, ſome that are of my Kindred and ancient Acquaintance; they have here caſt together a Company of Men who are all (*James Stewart* only excepted) abſolutely unknown to me, whom I never ſaw, and with whom I never exchanged one word in my whole life, as far as I can remember; one of them, Mr. *Robert Martyn*, was as I ever underſtood it, dead above a Year before I left *England*; as for *James Stewart*, I had a general Acquaintance with him twenty Years ago, but have had no Commerce with him now for many Years, unleſs it was that I ſaw him twice by Accident, and that was ſeveral Years before there was any Sentence paſt on him: my Accuſers know my Motion ill, for I have not been in *Breda* theſe twenty three Years. I ſettled in the *Hague* upon my coming into *Holland*, becauſe I was willing to be under the Obſervation of His *Majeſties Envoy*: and I choſe this place the rather, becauſe it was known, that none of thoſe that lay under Sentences come to it. I have never gone to *Amſterdam* or *Rotterdam* in ſecret: and have never been there but upon my private Affairs, and that never above a Night or two at a time; and I have been ſo viſible all the while that I was in thoſe places, that I thought there was not room left even for Calumny.

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In the laſt place it is ſaid, that I have *publickly and avowedly uttered ſeveral Speeches and Poſitions to the diſdain of His Majeſties Perſon, Authority and Government, and that I continue and perſiſt in thoſe Treaſonable Practices.* This is ſo generally Aſſerted, that it is enough for me to ſay, it is poſitively falſe: but I have yet clearer Evidence to the contrary of this: I have preached a whole Sermon in the *Hague* againſt all Treaſonable Doctrines and Practices; and in particular, againſt the Lawfulneſs of Subjects riſing in Arms againſt their Soveraign, upon the account of Religion: and I have maintained this ſo oft, both in publick and private, that I could, if I thought it convenient, give Proofs of it that would make all my Enemies be aſhamed of their Injuſtice and Malice.

The Witneſſes cited againſt me are, firſt, Sir *John Cochran*, whom I have not ſeen above theſe four Years laſt paſt, and with whom I have had no ſort of Commerce ſince I ſaw him. It is almoſt two Years ſince he had his Pardon; ſo it is probable he then told all that he has ever told concerning *me*: and it is not likely, that the Matter would have been let lie aſleep all this while, if he had ſaid any thing to my prejudice. I confeſs I have been long acquainted with him; I look upon him as a Man of Honour; and I reckon my ſelf ſo ſafe in his Honour, and in my own Innocence, that I do very freely releaſe him from all the Obligations of Friendſhip and Confidence, and wiſh that he may declare every thing that has ever paſt between us; for then I am ſure he will do me the right to own, that as oft as we talk'd of ſome things that were complained of in *Scotland*, I took occaſion to repeat my Opinion of the Duty of Subjects, to ſubmit and bear all the ill Adminiſtrations that might be in the Government, but never to riſe in Arms upon that account. The next *Witneſs* is his *Son*, whom I never ſaw but once or twice, and with whom I never entred into any Diſcourſe, but what became a Man of my profeſſion to ſo young a Perſon, exhorting him to the Duties of a Chriſtian. The next two are Mr. *Weſt* and Mr. *Bourn*, whoſe Faces I do not know. After them come Mr. *Carſtaires* and Mr. *Baird*, whoſe Faces I know not neither: It ſeems theſe are the *Witneſſes* to be led againſt me for the *Article* relating to the *Netherlands*; but as I am wholly a Stranger to Mr.

Mr. *Carstairs*, so I do not so much as know if there is such a Person in being as *Robert Baird*, Merchant in *Holland*. And for the last, Mr. *Baxter*, I have had no Correspondence at all with him these two and twenty Years; unless it was that once or twice I have met him by accident in a Visit in a third place, and that once about six Years ago I went to discourse with him concerning a matter of History in which we differ'd; but as all our Conversation at that time was in the presence of some Witnesses, so it was not at all relating to matters of State.

And now I have gone over all the Matter that is laid against me in this *Citation*, and have made such *Reflections* both on the *Facts* that are alledged, and the *Witnesses* that are named, as will I hope satisfy even my Enemies themselves, of the Falsehood and Injustice of these *Informations*. So that I presume so far on His *Majesty*'s Justice, as to expect that all the Indignation which is kindled against me, will be turned upon my false Accusers.

To all this I will add one thing further for my Justification, tho I am fully satisfied it is that which I am not obliged to do, and which if I were in other Circumstances I would not do my self; as I would advise no other Man to do it. For it is a part of that Right that every Man to preserve himself by all lawful ways, that he do not accuse himself, and by consequence, that he do not purge himself by *Oath* of matters objected to him: and I do not so well approve of the *Courts of Inquisition*, as to give countenance to a practice which was first set on foot by them, of requiring Men to answer upon *Oath* to Matters objected to them. If I were not a *Church-man* I would not do this which I am about to do; as I declare I will never do it again, let my Enemies lay to my charge what they please. But the regard I have to this *Sacred Function* to which I am dedicated, makes me now once for all, offer this solemn purgation of my self. *I attest the Great God, the Searcher of all Things, and the Judg of all Men, that all the Matters of Fact laid to my Charge in this Citation are utterly groundless, and absolutely false.* This I am ready to confirm with my Corporal *Oath*, and to receive the *Sacrament* upon it.

And

And now I hope I have ſaid enough to ſatisfy His *Majeſty* concerning my Innocence, ſo that I am confident he will not only diſcharge all further proceedings againſt me, upon this Accuſation, but that he will expreſs his Royal Diſpleaſure againſt my Falſe Accuſers. But if the power of my Enemies, and their credit with His *Majeſty* is ſtill ſo great, that this matter ſhall be carried further, and that advantage ſhall be taken from my not appearing in *Scotland*, to proceed to a *Sentence* againſt me, which ſome brutal *men* now in the *Hague* are threatning before hand, that they will execute it: I then make my moſt humble *Appeal* to the Great God, the King of kings, who knows my Innocence, and to whom my Blood will cry for Vengeance, againſt all that may be any way concerned in the ſhedding of it. He will at the Great Day judge all men righteouſly, without reſpect of perſons: It is to him that I fly, who I am ſure will hear me. Judge me, O God, according to the Integrity that is in me.

GILBERT BURNET.

*At the* Hague *in* Holland
*the* 17. *May Old Stile*, 1687.

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# My Second *Letter* to the *Earl* of *Middletoune*.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip;

THE *Copy of the* Citation *againſt me, has been ſent me out of* Scotland, *ſince I took the liberty to write laſt to your* Lordſhip; *this puts me on a ſecond Addreſs to you, for conveying the enclоſed* Anſwer, *which I moſt humbly lay down at his* Majeſty's *feet. I am confident that the Falſhood of the matters objected to me, will appear ſo evident to His* Majeſty, *as well as to all the world beſides, that he will not only order the* proceedings *to be quite diſcharged, but that he will alſo order ſome reparation to be made to me, for ſo publick a Blemiſh, as even a* Citation *for ſo high a Crime amounts to. I confeſs the many hard things that have been of late caſt on me, and in particular to Young and Old, and Forraigners as well as* Engliſhmen, *that have been coming into theſe Parts, make me ſee that my Enemies have poſſeſſed his* Majeſty *with thoughts of me,*

*that I must crave leave with all Humility to say, that they are as undeserved as hard. What have I either done or said, to draw on me so heavy and so long a continued displeasure? but my comfort lies in the Witness that I have within me, of my own Innocence: so that I dare appeal to God, as I do now with all duty to his* Vicegerent.

*Since this Matter is now become so publick, and that my* Name *is now so generally known; I must not be wanting to my own Innocence, especially when not only my* Life *and* Reputation *are struck at, but the* Religion *that I profess is wounded through my sides: therefore till I have put in order my* Memoirs *for a larger work, I find it in some sort necessary to print the* Citation, *together with this* Answer: *but I had much rather have all this prevented, by an effect of his* Majesties Justice, *in ordering an end to be put to this Accusation, and that by some* Act *that may be as publick as the Citation it self was, which may bear His* Majesty's *being satisfied with my Innocence, as to these Matters; but if I have still as melancholy an answer to this, as I have had to all the former Applications I have made, I must maintain my* Innocence *the best way I can, in which I will never forget that vast Duty that I owe His* Majesty, *whatsoever I may meet with in my own particular.*

*If there is any thing either in the Inclosed* Paper, *or in this* Letter, *that seems a little too vehement, I hope the provocation that I have met with will be likewise considered; for while my* Life *and* Reputation *are struck at, and while some here are threatning so high, a man must be forgiven to shew that he is not quite unsensible: tho my Duty to the* King *is Proof against all that can ever be done to provoke me, yet I must be suffered to treat the Instruments and Procurers of my disgrace, who are contriving my destruction, with the plainness that such Practices draw from me. I will delay* Printing *any thing for a fortnight, till I see whether your* Lordship *is like to receive any* Order *from His* Majesty *relating to him, who is,*

May it please your Lordship,

At the *Hague* the 17. of *May* Old St. 1687.

*Your Lordships, &c.*

My

# My Third *Letter* to the *Earl* of *Middletoune.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip;

I *Venture once more to renew my Addreſſes to your* Lordſhip, *before I* Print *the* Paper *that I ſent you by my laſt of the* 17. *of* May, *together with the* Two Letters *that I writ you: for I find it neceſſary to add this, and that it go with the reſt to the Preſs.*

*I am told, that great Advantages have been taken upon an Expreſſion in my* Firſt Letter, *in which I writ that by* my Naturalization during my ſtay here, My Allegiance was tranſlated from His Majeſty to the Soveraignty of this Province; *as if this alone was crime enough: and I hear that ſome who have been of the Profeſſion of the* Law *are of this Mind. I indeed thought that none who had ever pretended to ſtudy Law, or the general Notions of the Entercourſe among* Nations, *could miſtake in ſo clear a Point. I cautioned my words ſo, as to ſhew that I conſidered this Tranſlation of my* Allegiance *only as a temporary thing* during my ſtay here. *And can any man be ſo ignorant as to doubt of this?* Allegiance *and* Protection *are things by their natures reciprocal: ſince then* Naturalization *gives a Legal* Protection, *there muſt be a return of* Allegiance *due upon it. I do not deny but the root of Natural* Allegiance *remains, but it is certainly under a ſuſpenſion, while the* Naturalized Perſon *enjoys the Protection of the* Prince *or* State *that has ſo received him. I know what a Crime it had been if I had become* Naturalized *to any* State *in* War *with the* King; *but when it was to a* State *that is in* Alliance *with him, and when it was upon ſo juſt a ground as my being to be married and ſetled in this* State, *as it could be no Crime in me to deſire it, ſo I having obtained it, am not a little amazed, to hear that any are ſo little converſant in the Law of Nations, as to take Exceptions at my words. Our Saviour has ſaid,* that a man cannot ſerve two Maſters: *and the nature of things ſay, that a man cannot be at the ſame time under two* Allegiances. *His* Majeſty *by Naturalizing the* Earl of Feverſham *and many others of the* French Nation, *knows well what a right this gives him to their* Allegiance, *which no doubt he as well as many others have ſworn, and this is a tranſlating their* Allegiance *with a Witneſs: That* 'Lord *was to have commanded the* Troops *that were to be ſent into* Flanders

*in* 1678. *againſt his Natural* Prince: *and yet tho' the* Laws of France *are high enough upon the points of* Soveraignty, *it was never ſo much as pretended that this was a* Crime. *And it is ſo much the Intereſt of all* Princes *to aſſure themſelves of thoſe whom they receive into their Protection by* Naturalizing *them (ſince without that they ſhould give Protection to ſo many Spies and Agents for another Prince) that if I had not very good ground to aſſure me, that ſome have pretended to make a Crime out of my Words, I could not eaſily believe it.*

My Lord, *this is the laſt trouble that I will give your* Lordſhip *upon this Subject: for it being now a month ſince I made my firſt Addreſs to you, I muſt conclude, that it is reſolved to carry this matter to all Extremities; and* Mr. d' Albevilles *Inſtances againſt me, and the Threatnings of ſome of his* Countreymen, *make me conclude, that all my moſt humble Addreſſes to His* Majeſty *are like to have no other effect but this, that I have done my duty in them; ſo that it ſeems I am to be judged in* Scotland. *I am ſorry for it, becauſe this muſt engage me in a defence of my ſelf, I mean a Juſtification of my own* Innocence, *which I go to, much againſt my heart; but God and man ſee that I am forced to it: and no Threatnings of any here will frighten me, for I will do that which I think fit for me to do to day, though I were ſure to be aſſaſſinated for it to morrow; but to the laſt moment of my Life I will pay all Duty and Fidelity to His* Majeſty.

My Lord; *I am with a profound reſpect*

At the *Hague*
the 6. of June Old St.
1687.

Your Lordſhips, &c.

A D.

# *ADVERTISEMENT.*

WHen I had reſolved on the *Printing* theſe *Papers*, and was waiting till the day ſhould come to which I was cited, I received a new *Advertiſement*, that the firſt *Citation* was let fall, and that I was cited of new to the 15 of *Auguſt*, to Anſwer to the Crimes of *High Treaſon*, upon the account of *two Heads* in my firſt *Letter* to the Earl of *Middletoune*: The one is, that I ſay, that *by my Naturalization I am looſed from any Allegiance to His Majeſty*; and the other is, that I threaten *His Majeſty* with the *Printing and Diſcovering of Secrets that have been long hid.* If after what I have hitherto met with, there were room left for new Surpriſes, this would have been a very great one. Thoſe who have adviſed the *King* to this way of Proceeding againſt me, ſhew that they conſider very little the Reputation of His *Majeſty*'s *Juſtice*; and ſo I be but Sacrificed, they do not care how much the *Kings Honour* ſuffers in it: for *Firſt*, after a *Citation* of *High Treaſon*, which has made ſo much noiſe, *that is let fall*: Which is plainly to confeſs, that there is no truth in all thoſe Matters that were laid to my Charge; and then, where is the Juſtice of this way of Proceeding, to Summon a Man to appear upon the pretence of Crimes, of which they know him to be Innocent? But this new matter is of ſuch a Nature, that it is not eaſy for me to find words ſoft enough to ſpeak of it with the decency that becomes me.

This is now more the *Cauſe* of the *States of Holland and Weſt-Friezeland* than it is mine. It is indeed the Cauſe of all the Soveraigns in the World, and ſo it is His *Majeſties* own Cauſe, who has ſo often called the Naturalized *French His Subjects*, and by conſequence they owe him an *Allegiance*; and ſo here muſt be at leaſt a Temporary *Tranſlation of their Allegiance made to him from their Natural Prince*: And either this muſt be the ſame as to thoſe who are *Naturalized* by the *States* here, or they are not a Soveraign State, and by conſequence this Cauſe is *theirs*, and not *mine*; ſince the Crime of which I am now accuſed is the acknowledging my ſelf to have become

*their*

*their Subject during my ſtay here*, upon their having granted me the Benefit and Protection of *Naturalization*; ſo that either His *Majeſty* was much miſtaken in calling the *French* that are Naturalized *His Subjects*; or it can be no Crime in me to have owned my ſelf to have become a *Temporary Subject* to the *States*.

And if thoſe who have ſtudied the *Roman Law* will reflect a little on the Effects that belonged to the (*Jus Civitatis*) or the Rights that followed on the being made a *Roman Citizen*, which are the ſame in all Sovereign *States*, and that *Naturalization* is with regard to a *Prince* or *State* that which *Adoption* was by the *Roman Law* with regard to private *Families*, they will ſee that my Enemies do not reflect enough on the Principles of Law, when they pretend to make me a Criminal upon ſuch an account. If I had been charged for having deſired to be *Naturalized*, I confeſs there had been ſome more Colour for it: but ſince it is now a received Practice over all *Europe*, for the *Subjects* of one *State* to procure their being *Naturalized* in another; it is unaccountable how any can call in queſtion that tye of *Allegiance*, that he who is *Naturalized* owes to his New Maſters. Nor have my Enemies conſidered how much this way of Proceeding againſt me, muſt ſink the Credit of His *Majeſties Naturalizing Strangers*: For how can they expect a conſtant Protection from him, if it is made apparent that the *King* does not think he has a right to their *Allegiance*? And into what a Conſternation muſt it throw them, when they find by *my Caſe* that the *King* looks upon them as ſo many *Traytors* for becoming his *Subjects*, and for ſwearing *Allegiance* to him? For that *Oath* is ſworn in terms that are plain and full, and that have not the Qualification that I put in my words, of *during my ſtay here*; ſo that they are much more Criminal than it can be pretended that I am.

The other *Article* is no leſs Injurious to His *Majeſty*, ſince they would make a Crime out of my Words, that mention my Fear that he may be diſpleaſed at ſome things that may be in the *Apology*, that I will be obliged to make for my ſelf, to the *Writing* and *Printing* of which a Sentence againſt me will drive me. If theſe Men, who have adviſed this, had the regard to his *Majeſty*, which they owe him, they would not have

have preſumed to infer, that it was a Threatning of His *Majeſty*, when I ſay, that I muſt juſtify my ſelf; or that any *Hiſtory* of paſt Tranſactions can be a want of Duty to him; this Conſequence of theirs Intimates that his *Life*, or the late *King* his *Brothers*, cannot bear a true Hiſtory, otherwiſe where is the threatning? But how great a Crime this is, will I hope appear to His *Majeſty*, when he has the leiſure to reflect upon it; yet there may be many particulars that I muſt neceſſarily bring in, in the *Hiſtory* that I am writing, which have ſuch a Connexion with what relates to my ſelf, that I cannot paſs them by; which yet if it could be avoided, may not be fit for publick View. Now if my Enemies fancy, that is is a Crime for me to juſtify my ſelf, becauſe they have poſſeſſed His *Majeſty* againſt me; I could anſwer this with ſome famed ſayings of *Tacitus*'s, that would diſturb them a little; and if in an humble Groan that I make before His *Majeſty*, I mention this as a Conſideration that may be of ſome weight with him; they who can turn this Expreſſion of my Duty and Reſpect into a Crime, and are ſucceſsful in the Attempt, have a Talent for which I do not envy them, tho I my ſelf come to feel the weight of it.

*At the* Hague *the* 27 *of* June, *Old St.* 1687.

*GILBERT BURNET.*

*Dr.*

## Dr. BURNET's *Vindication of* Himſelf *from the Calumnies with which he is aſperſed, In a* Pamphlet, *entituled,* Parliamentum Pacificum. *Licenſed by the Earl of* Sunderland, *and Printed at* London *in* March, 1688.

A Silence for ſo many Months, in which my Name has been ſo much toſſed in Libels, as well as in Gazettes, has ſhewed the World, with how much uneaſineſs I am drawn to ſay any thing in my own Defence, when ſo *ſacred a Name* has been made uſe of to give an Authority to what has been ſaid or done againſt me: A Chriſtian cannot fail when he goes by ſo Divine a Pattern as our Saviour himſelf has ſet the World. He, when he was accuſed, for a great while *anſwered not a word*; yet at laſt being required to do it by the High Prieſt, he ſpoke for himſelf: *But when he was reviled, he reviled not again.*

In an humble Imitation of that Example, as I will return no reviling Words, for all thoſe that are ſo liberally thrown out upon me; ſo the Juſtifying of my ſelf, being now become an Apology for the Protection that is granted me by the States of *Holland*, (whoſe Subject I am) as well as for my ſelf, I am in ſome ſort forced again to appear in my own Defence. If this Pamphlet had not carried ſuch a Licenſe as it has in its Front; and if the *States* had not been worſe uſed in it, than I my ſelf am, I had paſſed over all the Malice that is in it, with the ſame Silence that I have ſhewed on other occaſions. But it being judged neceſſary that I ſhould plead my own Cauſe a little, ſince the *Protection* that the *States* give me, has made it now likewiſe theirs, and that it may appear that they have no juſt Reaſon to be aſhamed of me, I ſhall Anſwer all that relates to my ſelf, except the foul Language that is in it. But I will repeat nothing that was in the *Paper* that I publiſht laſt *June:* in which

which I ſet down the firſt *Citation*, together with the *Anſwer* that I made to it, and my Letters to the Earl of *Middletoune*, together with ſome Reflections upon the whole Matter; ſo I offer this only as a Supplement to that Paper.

I will begin with ſetting down the ſecond *Citation*, after I have made this ſhort Remark on the firſt, That thoſe very Perſons, for converſing with whom, I was accuſed in it, being now pardoned, and in *Scotland*, the Government *there*, has a ſure means in their hands, to know the Falſhood of that Accuſation: ſo that thoſe who offered thoſe Informations againſt me, which gave the riſe to all that has ſince followed, ought to be lookt on as *Calumniators*, and to be puniſhed accordingly: and if any ill choſen Expreſſion had fallen from me in the Letter that I writ to the Earl of *Middletoune*, the Privacy of the Letter, the Reſpect that was in it, and the Provocation that drew it from me, (an Accuſation of High Treaſon, which is now evidently made out to be a Calumny) all theſe, I ſay, give me ſome reaſon to conclude, that if a ſecret Animoſity of ſome of my Enemies that have abuſed their Credit with the King to my Prejudice, had not wrought more than a regard to *Juſtice*, there had not been a ſecond Proſecution, when the firſt was found to be ſo ill grounded, that they were forced to let it fall. The *Citation* is in theſe Words.

*JAMES* by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: **To our Lovits, Yeraulds, Purſevants, Macers and Meſſre at armes conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially Conſtitute Greeting. Forſameikle as it is humbly meant et Complaind to us be our right truſty and familiar Counſellour** Sir John Dalrymple **the younger of** Stair **our Advocat for our Intereſt** Upon **Doctor** Gilbert Burnet, **That wher by the Common Law, by the Acts of Parliament, and the municipall Lawes of this Kingdom, the declyning or impugning our Soveraign Authority, or putting**

Treasonable Limitations upon the Prerogatives of our Crown, upon the native Allegiance due by any of our Subjects born Scots men, whether residing within our Dominions or not, are declared to be High Treason, and punishable by the Pains due and determined in the Law for Treason. Nevertheless it is of verity, That Doctor Gilbert Burnet, who is a Scotsman by Birth and Education, being cited at the Peir and Shoar of Leith at the instance of our Advocat for several Treasonable Crimes to underly the Law by vertue of particular Command from us direct to the Lords of our Privy Council, and ane Act of our said Privy Council hereupon ordering our Advocat to Intent the Proces: Instead of appeiring before the Lords of Justiciary Doctor Gilbert Burnet did write and subscribe a Letter dated at the Hague the third day of May last directed for the Earl of Middletoune one of our principal Secretaries of State for our Kingdom of England: In the which the said Doctor shows that in respect the Affairs of the United Provinces falls to his Lordships share in the Ministry, Therefore he makes the following Addresses to his Lordship, and by him to us, and gives ane accompt that he is certiorat of the Proces of Treason execute against him at the instance of our Advocat: And for answer thereto the Doctor Writes, that he hes bein thirteen years out of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that he is now upon the point of Marrying in the Netherlands, and that he is Naturalized by the States of Holland, and that thereby during his stay there, his Allegiance is translated from us

us to the Soveraignity of the Province of Holland; and in the end of his Letter he Certifies, that if this decly natur be not taken of his hand to fill the Proces, he will appeir in Print in his own Defence, and will not so far betray his own Innocence as to suffer a thing of that nature to pass upon him, In which he will make a recital of Affairs that hes passed these twenty years, and a vast number of particulars which he believes will be displeasing to us: and therfor desires that he may not be forced to it, which is a direct declyning of our Authority, denying of his Allegiance to us, and asserting that his Allegiance is translated from us to the Soveraignty of the States of Holland, And a threatning us to expose, traduce, dispараge and bely our Government, and the publict Actings for twenty years past: Tho he acknowledges it will be displeasing to us, Yet by a most Indiscret and Disloyal Insolence he threatens to do it in contempt, Except forsooth we will acquiesse and suffer the derly natur of our Royal Authorite, and pass from the Proces, as having no Allegiance due to us from the Doctor, &c.

After this follows the form of Law ordinary in such Citations, by which I am required to appear on the 9*th* day of *August*, in order to my Tryal, which was to be six days after that, under the Pains of being declared a *Rebel*, and a *Fugitive*; and all bears date the 10*th* of *June*, 1687.

I shall offer only two Exceptions to this, in point of Form; 1*st*, there is no *Special Law* set forth here, upon which I am to be *Judged*; which, as I am informed by those who understand the *Law of Scotland*, makes the Citation *null* in point of Form,

since *High Treason* is a Crime of such a Nature, that no Man can be concluded Guilty of it, but upon a special Law. 2*dly*, In Criminal matters, no Proofs of any Writing upon the Similitude of Hands, are so much as admitted by the Law of *Scotland*; so that all such Proofs are only General Presumptions; and therefore, since there is no other Proof that can be pretended in this case; it is not possible according to the grounds and practice of the *Scottish* Law, to find me Guilty upon this *Citation*. Upon my not appearance on the 9*th* day of *August*, the matter was for some time delayed. At last a *Writ* was issued out against me, called in the Law of *Scotland*, *Letters of Horning*, because they are published with the blast of a *Horn*; in which I am declared the King's *Rebel*; but this is not issued out upon the account of the *Matter* of the Citation, of which no Cognizance has been taken: But only for my not appearance to offer my self to *Tryal*; and the Operation of this in Law, is only the putting me out of the *King's Protection*, and the present Seizing on my personal Estate, and after a year, the Seizing any thing that I enjoy for *Term of Life*; but this Writ does neither affect my *Life*, nor my *Posterity*, nor can an *Estate of Inheritance* be so much as *Confiscated* by it; and tho the term *Rebel* is put in it, that word is only a *Form of Law*; for every man that does not pay his Debts is liable to such a *Writ*, and he is declared the *King's Rebel*, just as the *Chancery* in *England* issues out a *Writ of Rebellion* upon Contempts; so that if the being called a *Rebel* in such a *Writ*, gives the Government a right to demand me, then every Man that retires into *Holland*, either out of *England* or *Scotland*, upon the account of a disorder in his Affairs, may be demanded as soon as any such Writ goes out against him.

As for the matter of this *Citation*, I said so much upon it in my former *Paper*, that since no Answer has been made to that, I do not think it necessary to say any more than what will occur to me in the account of the Progress of this Affair. Mr. *d'Albeville* his Majesties Envoy, did in the Month of *July* last, put in a *Memorial* against me, which being already in *Print*, I shall only offer here the abstract of it. *In the Preamble it sets forth, That whereas I had obtained Letters of Burgership in the Town of* Amsterdam: *In the Vertue thereof, these Letters being presented*

*presented to the States of* Holland, *by the said Town, I had obtained the Protection of the States: with which I was not satisfied, but by my Libels I defamed the King and his Government: of which it offered two Instances: one, that I represented my self as Persecuted upon the account of Religion: which was so false, that all Religions were tolerated by the King. The other was, that I pretended that my life was in danger: for which, If I had any grounds, I ought to have represented it to the King's Ministers in* England, *or to his Minister here: and that it was Notorious that the greatest of all Criminals were in safety here, for fear to draw upon themselves his Majesties displeasure: who abhors such practices, tho by the King's Laws every one of his subjects was warranted to seise on them here, in what manner soever.* Upon all which it concluded, *That the States ought to punish both me and my Printer, without naming him.*

I hope I may without being wanting to the respect due to his Character, make some observations on this. It is well known, that I was never made *Burgess of Amsterdam*; so that all the Preamble falls; and it appears, that the *Envoy* has not taken the pains that forraign Ministers ordinarily do, to be rightly informed of this matter, when he began to move in it. I applied my self immediately to the *States of Holland*, in order to my being *Naturalized*, and in my Petition I set forth the Reason of it, which ever since *Solons Laws*, has been thought the justest ground for it, and that was a *Marriage*, and this was no pretended colour, for I was *contracted* the same day. I had lived before that, a year at the *Hague*, and I saw clearly a storm coming upon me, yet I had used no precaution to cover my self from it: but when a *Marriage* and a settlement in *Holland*, made it necessary for me to desire the Rights and Priviledges of the Countrey, it cannot be thought strange if I petitioned for it: and the *States*, who know how long I had both lived and preached publickly at the *Hague*, under the eyes of two of the Kings Ministers, one after another, saw no sort of reason, so much as to deliberate upon my petition, but granted it to me as a *thing of course*: As for the matter that His Majesties *Envoy* objected to me, I said nothing in the paper I printed but what plainly contradicts the first point: my words relating to it are, *that it is yet too early to set on a Persecution for matters of Religion, and therefore Crimes against the State must be pretended and fastned on those whom these men intend to destroy.*

Now

Now it is plain, that by *these men*, I intend *those* who had Informed against me, the matters that are in the first *Citation*; and that being let fall as a *Calumny*, too gross to be any longer supported, I had all reason to pass that censure on *these men*. But these words cannot be supposed to have any relation to the *King*, unless in that part of them, that it is yet *too early to Persecute for matters of Religion*, which import that *my Enemies* dare not attempt to carry his Majesty to that; so that this period in my paper is evidently contrary to the Inference that is drawn from it.

The 2d point is no better grounded: since I published nothing relating to the *Danger* in which I *was*, but my *Letters* to the Earl of *Middleton*; so that I had begun my Complaints to him, but I was never encouraged to go to the naming of particulars. As for that period, that the *greatest of Criminals are here safe from such Attempts, for fear of drawing upon themselves the King's displeasure*: (de peur de s'attirer) certainly the *Envoy* was in haste, when he drew it, for the want of a *clear sense in it*, is such, that it cannot be carried off by an Ignorance of the *French tongue*, since sure those Criminals are not afraid to *Draw upon themselves the King's displeasure by attempting on themselves*. So that some such words as these ( *all his Majesties good subjects avoiding such practices, for fear of drawing upon themselves his Displeasure* ) must be supposed to make the period *Clear sense*. But if I had any apprehensions of *Danger* before this *Memorial*, they are justly encreased by it; since the *Envoy* concludes the paragraph, by saying, *that every one of the King's subjects were warranted by his Laws to seise on such here in what manner soever* ( a s'y emparer en quelque maniere que ce soit ) *in what manner soever* does always, on such occasions, signifie either *Dead* or *Alive*. Now when the Kings *Envoy* did in a *Memorial* to the *States*, which was afterwards *printed*, assert that this was *Law*, It is easy to Infer from hence, what just apprehensions this might suggest to me. As for his desire to have me *Punished* for that Libel; he did in that Appeal which he made to the Justice of the *States*, acknowledge me to be their *Subject*: but if I have by printing of that or any other Paper, made my self liable to the punishment of the *States*, the Complaint ought to have been made in the form of Law, to the *Court of Holland*, as it would be in *England* to the

the *Kings Bench*, since the *States* themselves do not not enter into the prosecutions of *Justice*, and to that *Court* I most humbly submit my self, and acknowledg, that if I cannot justify my self of every thing that can be laid to my Charge, they ought to punish me with the utmost severity of *Justice*. Since a man of my *Profession*, as he ought to be an *Example* for his good behaviour, so he ought to be made an Example of *Justice*, when he brings himself within the compass of the Law.

This was the first step that was made in my affair, which lay in this state till the *Envoy*'s return from *England* in *December* last; upon which he gave in a long Memorial, of which I was made one Article. He set forth, *that I being now Judged a Rebel and Fugitive in Scotland, the States were bound to deliver me up, or to banish me out of their Dominions, and so he demanded that this might be executed.* Upon this I was called before some of the Deputies of the *States*: and both the Envoys *Memorials* being read to me, I was required to offer what I had to say upon them. I could not but first take notice of the great difference that was between them: The *first* complaining of me as a *subject of the States*, and demanding that I might *be punished* by them; and the *second* demanding me as the *King*'s *Subject*. To the *first*, I answered according to the Reflections that I have already mentioned. To the *second*, I said, I could not be a *Fugitive*, since I had come out of *Scotland* fourteen years ago, and after eleven years stay in *England*, had come out of it three years ago by the *King*'s *leave*. As for my being a *Rebel*; I could answer nothing to that, till I saw the Judgment that had passed upon me: but I was now the *Subject of the States*, and as I humbly claimed their *Protection*, so I pretended to no *Protection* against *Justice*: but offered my self to a Tryal, if any thing was laid to my charge. This being reported to the *States of Holland*, they were so far satisfied with my Answer, that the substance of it was put in the form of an *Answer* to the two *Memorials*: The whole amounts to this, *that I was become their subject by being naturalized before this process was begun against me: so that I am now under their Protection: But if there is any thing to be objected to me, that can bear a Tryal, they will give order that full and speedy Justice shall be done upon it, in the Court of Holland.*

Upon this a 3d Memorial was given in, to which the *Arti-*

*cles*

*cles* of the *Treaty* between the *King* and the *States*, were annexed, relating to *Fugitives* and *Rebels*; and it was said in it, that the *States* were bound to execute these with relation to me, without taking upon them to examine the grounds upon which the sentence was past. And because here lies the strength of the whole matter, I shall offer such Considerations upon it, as will, I hope satisfie all persons. 1. No Sentence is either passed or produced against me; for I am not declared by any Judgment either Rebel or Fugitive; and by the 7th Article all *Condemnations* ought to be notified by *publick and Authentical letters*: which must be understood of a *Record of the sentence*, that ought to be produced: whereas there is nothing shewed in my case but only a *Memorial*. 2. All Treaties, especially in the *odious parts* of them, are to be understood according to the common acceptation of the terms contained in them, and not according to the particular forms of any Courts of Justice; the common acceptance of *Fugitive*, is a *man that flies away after a crime committed, from the prosecution of Justice*; and a *Rebel* in the common acceptation, is a *man that has born Arms against his Prince*: since then I am not so much as charged with either of these, I cannot be comprehended in the Article of the Treaty; for this must be the only sense, according to which the *States* are bound to deny harbour to Declared *Rebels and Fugitives*. 3. That which puts an end to the whole matter is, that before I writ that Letter, upon which I am now prosecuted; I was become a *Subject of the States*, and by Consequence was no more in a Capacity to be either the King's *Rebel* or Fugitive. And the point of *Naturalizing Strangers*, is now such an universal Practice, that the right of granting it, is inseperable from *Soveraign Power*: so that either the *States* have this Right, or they are no more a *Free and Soveraign State*. And the obligations of honour that all *Soveraigns* come under to protect those whom they *naturalize*, against every thing but their own *Justice*, is no dark point of Law, but is that which every *Prince* knows and practices as oft as there is occasion for it. The King of *France* has used all the *Naturalized Strangers* in the same manner that he has used his own subjects in the point of *Religion*: and tho the *French Protestants*, that are gone into *England*, are according to the severity of the *Edicts*

passed

passed against them, made *Criminals* for flying out of that Kingdom; so that according to the Letter of those Edicts they are *Fugitives*, yet the King has received them all, owned them for his Subjects, *naturalised* some, and supplied others of them, by a Bounty truly worthy of so great a *Prince*; and if the *King* does this to those of another *Religion*, that do fly out of the Dominions of a Prince, with whom he is in peace, The *States* could not with any colour of reason, refuse to *Naturalise* me who am of their own Religion, when after so long a stay among them, it appeared that the King had nothing ro lay to my charge; and they having *Naturalised* me, if they should withdraw their Protection, before I had forfeited it by any illegal Action of mine, they should make a Breach upon the *Publick Liberty*, upon which their Government is chiefly founded. And it is to be observed, that the *Treaty* between the *King* and *them*, as to the Articles concerning *Rebels* and *Fugitives*, is *Reciprocal*; as all the Ancient Treaties between the *Crown* of *England*, and the *Princes* of these *Provinces*, before the formation of the Commonwealth, ever were as to this particular; so that they can be no more bound to the King by it, than the King is bound to them. Now let us suppose that the King *Naturalises* a Dutchman, by which he is admitted to all the Priviledges of an *Englishman*; if the *Dutch* should after that condemn this person, as guilty of *Rebellion*; the King could not upon the *States* demanding of him, deliver him up or banish him at his pleasure, since this cannot be done arbitrarily to any *Englishman*, without a *legal tryal* by his *Peers*; and therefore it is plain that my case does not at all fall within the Articles of the Treaty; so that in this whole matter the *States* have acted as a free State, that was careful to maintain its *Honour*, and to assert its being an *Independent Soveraignty*: and for my own part, I can appeal to all the Members of the *States* of *Holland*, if I made any applications to them, as if I would value my self on my being supported in opposition to the *Envoy*'s *Memorial*; I staid at home, while the thing was under consultation, without making Addresses to any one of them as to my own particular. It is true, I would not withdraw of my own accord, from my own house, which I thought would have been a forsaking the Rights of the Countrey, a mistrusting the Protection of my *Soveraigns*, as well as my own Innocence.

and an abandoning of the *post* in which God by his Providence has placed me. And I am resolved rather to run the risque of all *that* with which I am threatned, than show the least unbecoming fear. I thank God I make use of that common but Noble expression, that *I am neither afraid to dye, nor ashamed to live.* I will not go further into dark thoughts, tho I know enough of of the contrivances against me, by an *order of men*, whose souls are as black as their Habits. Tho for a great while I thought that the meanness of my person was such, that even success in any design against me could not have counterballanced the Infamy of it.

Thus I hope those hard words of *high treason* or *Rebellion* will make no impressions on any to my prejudice: for it is with them, as with *Blasphemy* or *Heresy* which are very odious words; but if mens passions carry them to apply these to the most Innocent things, they lose that force which is in them, and this will make the ancient observation return into mens minds, that Treason was become the crime of those (*qui ab omni crimine innoxii erant*) who were free from all *crimes*: so when all this prosecution is so slightly founded, I make no doubt the world will do me Justice in it; and I can as little doubt, that if my cause could be so fairly represented to His Majesty, that he might see it without those false colours with which the Malice of my Enemies darken it. He who has of *late* shewed a disposition to receive even into his favour those who were formerly esteemed, both his *Fathers* Enemies, his *Brothers* and his *own*, would return to juster and softer thoughts of me. For since I have done nothing that deserves his *displeasure*, it would be a greater crime, than any of which I stand accused, to think that it would be lasting.

This *Author* lays several *Papers* to my charge, but he does not prove that they were writ by me: and I do not think my self obliged to satisfie every spiteful man, that will fasten all such things upon me, as he thinks will render me *odious*. I did solemnly purge my self of the matters laid to my charge in the first *Citation*: but I said then, that I would not give my Enemies the satisfaction of doing *that* any more; or of clearing my self, as oft as they should think fit to lay any thing to my charge; so when there is any thing brought against me in a legal way, I make no doubt but that I shall be able either to *clear my self of it*, or

to

to *justifie my self in it*; But since this *Author* thought fit to fasten so many Papers on me which I have not *owned*, he should in common equity and decency, have taken some notice of a *Discourse* which I have *owned*: and that was my *Preface* to *Lactantius's book of the Death of the Persecutors*; in which I pleaded against Persecution; perhaps with more force than most of those who have of late undertaken the Argument: I carried the point so far, as to include *even* the *Papists*, in that *General Toleration* which I recommended. This I had writ before either the King's *Declaration* appeared, or that the proceedings against me were begun; but tho the state of *Affairs* with relation to my self, was upon that altered, and the point was so *tender*, that I had reason to apprehend it might offend many of my *Brethren* and *best Friends*, at a time when I had no Reason to make *Enemies* to my self; yet I published it, without altering it in any one thing. In the circumstances in which I was, I could do nothing more to shew how far I was from desiring to Imbroil matters, than when I touched so nice a matter, with so much *plainness*. As for all the other Reproaches with which he pursues me, I think it below me to answer such a Scribler; but for the sake of the *Licenser*, I take the liberty to say, That I am not afraid, neither of the *Calumnies*, nor the *Violences* of my Enemies. I lived many Years in *England* under a great deal of displeasure from the *Court*, and yet there never was found the least appearance of any *Guilt* in me, with relation to the *Government*. Many of my friends have had *pardons*, and by consequence did very probably discover all they knew of me: for I have been credibly Informed that many have been Interrogated, and some under *Torture* with relation to me: but there never appeared the least shadow of a guilty Compliance with ill Principles; not only was I free from accession to *ill things*, I was free also even from faults of *Omission*, with relation to the *Publick*; for I never failed as oft as I saw the least occasion for it, to bear down all things that tended to disturb the *Publick Peace*, and this both in *Books*, in *Sermons*, and in *private Conversation*: and I have Compurgators in this matter, that are *beyond exception*, as well as *above Scandal*. I do not carry this matter further; tho I could say that which might cover all my Enemies with *Shame*: and which will perhaps apppear to their

amaſement when they may have put an end to my being in this world.

I have ever gone by the Principles in which I was bred up at firſt, under a Father that from firſt to laſt, adhered to the *King*'s *Cauſe*, without ſo much as one ſtumble, or making even an Addreſs of Civility to his Enemies: but was as much an Enemy to *Arbitrary Power*, as he was to *Rebellion*, and thought it was as baſe and unwarrantable a thing, for *Subjects* to give up their juſt and legal *Rights*, as it was for them to fly out upon every pretended violation of them. In theſe Principles I have fortified my ſelf, by ſtudy and obſervation; and I may *Love* them, for they have ſtood me very *Dear*. I went no further than to aſſert an *Obedience* and *ſubmiſſion* according to *law*, when I was Imployed to aſſert the *Laws* of *Scotland*, againſt thoſe who ſtudied to overturn them, in which it was thought I did the Government ſome ſervice, and for which the late *King* was pleaſed to thank me. It is true, I never could deſcend to the Methods of aſpiring to *Preferment* that are expected in ſome *Courts*: but if this made ſome look on me as *ſullen* or *affected*, yet it might have freed me from the Imputations of being *Malecontent*, when there are many Vouchers for me, who know that I avoided all *Preferment* as Induſtriouſly, as the moſt ambitious do court it. I came under ill Characters both in the *Court*, and elſewhere, becauſe firſt and laſt I was always againſt the *Proſecution of the Diſſenters*: and I always thought that greater endeavours ought to have been uſed for the Compoſing of the ſmall Differences among our ſelves, and that greater gentleneſs ought to be expreſſed even to thoſe who could not be brought within any terms of reconciliation. Theſe were my only *Crimes* and *Hereſies*; and for theſe Opinions I was repreſented as a favourer of the *Kings* and the *Churches* Enemies. And therefore it cannot but ſeem ſtrange, that I, who was hardly uſed upon thoſe accounts, ſhould be now ſingled out to be the chief Inſtance of an unrelenting ſeverity. The deſigns againſt my *Perſon* ſeem not enough to ſatisfie that *Malice* that works ſo quick againſt me, but they muſt laſh out on my *good name*, and my Reputation, which I confeſs is the greater tryal of the two to my *Patience*: but tho with relation to *God* I muſt lay my hand on my mouth, and ſay, that *I am the Chief of ſinners*; yet as to all men

men, I may boldly ſay, *What have I done?* I hope God will not lay to the Charge of my Enemies, all thoſe Slanders, and all that Injuſtice with which they have proſecuted me.

This Author and ſome others have often given it out, as if I had *Betrayed a Maſter*; and I may expect the next time, that they will ſay, that I *Murdered my Father*; for the one is as true as the other. I never had a *Maſter* but the *King*, for the whole courſe of my Life raiſed me above the *ſerving of any Subject*. A deſign propoſed to me, by one that is now Dead, and therefore ſhall not be named by me, of bringing in an *Army* out of *Scotland*, for the Spoiling and Subduing of *England*, gave me a juſt horror at the Propoſition, and I did all I could to withſtand it. The ſame *great Perſon* did quickly take up ſuch a Jealouſy of me, that he did all he could to ruin me, tho His preſent Majeſty, who had then the *Goodneſs* for me to endeavour to Pacify him, owned to me that he could ſee nothing in his hatred of me, but a violent Paſſion: Yet he was reſolved to throw me in a Priſon, where very probably I had languiſhed away the reſt of my Life, if the *King* that now is, had not been ſo gracious to me, as to warn me of my Danger, which made me leave *Scotland*; and after I had ſuffered near two years, all that *Wrath* armed with *Power*, could do to me; at laſt, while I was under one of the ſharp effects of that great Miniſter's anger, I told a Perſon of Honour that which I believed was one of the grounds of it. The Gentleman ſet this ſo about, that as he himſelf was a Member of the *Houſe of Commons*, ſo it was known to a great many others; upon which I was ſent for by the *Houſe*; I declined for four ſeveral times, to ſay what had been propoſed to me; and at laſt, being threatned to be proſecuted by the *Houſe of Commons*, as an *Enemy to the Nation*, I was thus unwillingly brought to own it. But that *Great Man* fell no ſooner under an Eclipſe of Favour, then tho I had felt the weight of his *Credit* for ſeven years together, I made not only all the ſteps neceſſary for a Reconciliation, but I engaged ſome then in *Favour*, ſo far into his Intereſts, that he expreſſed a very thankful acknowledgment of it, and a perfect Reconciliation with me: Tho upon ſome Reaſons of his own, our Meeting was not thought convenient; and his own *Nephew*, who being now of the *Roman* Communion, is a Witneſs,

neſs, to whom I may the more freely appeal, brought me very kind Meſſages from him, and ſignified them to me after his Death.

As for all the other things that can be objected to me, I paſs them over, as things which can very little hurt me. The Author it ſeems pities *Varillas*'s defeated Condition, who as my Friends from *Paris* write to me, does not ſo much as pretend to juſtify himſelf of all thoſe groſs Errors of which I have diſcovered him *Guilty*; but ſays, he has received an Order from the King, to inſiſt no more in the Diſpute in which he and I were engaged. Our Author will be a very fit Perſon to ſucceed to that *Deſpicable Writer*; who fancies that I contradict my ſelf, in ſetting forth Q. *Maries Clemency* in one place, and yet ſhewing in another, how *Unmerciful* ſhe ſhewed her ſelf towards thoſe that were condemned of *Hereſy*. The beſt Natures in the World can be corrupted by a falſe Religion; and they being once poſſeſſed with cruel Principles, the more Pious they are, they will be the more true to the Doctrines of their Church, and by conſequence, they will execute all its ſevere Decrees with an unrelenting Rigour. And we have clear Inſtances of this in the Age in which we live, of *Princes* whoſe Inclinations to *Clemency*, are as well known as the Severities to which the Credit of the *Society* has carried them are *Deplorable.*

There is another ſpiteful Inſinuation with which I ſhall conclude my *Apology:* This Author finding that the *Matters* of *State*, of which he had accuſed me, were not like to Blemiſh me much, reſolved to try what he could do in a Subject of another Nature, which was indeed above him; for tho it ſeems he is entertained to Scribble upon the Politicks, yet the matters of Divinity probably do not lie within his Province; but it ſeems he thought that any thing was to be ventured on that might Defame me. He repreſents me as an Enemy to the *Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt*, becauſe of the various readings of a verſe in St. *John's Epiſtle*, that I gave from ſome Ancient *Manuſcripts*, which I ſaw in my *Travels*. And theſe men who have of late ſtudied to make all the World either *Deiſts* or *Socinians*, if they cannot make them *Papiſts*, by repreſenting that, unleſs we believe the *Infallibility of the Church*, we cannot upon good grounds

believe

believe either the *Chriſtian Religion*, or the *Myſteries of it*, and this with ſo much Heat and Induſtry, as if their deſign were to have us to be any thing rather than *Proteſtants*; yet will accuſe ſome of our Church of thoſe Doctrines, againſt which we have writ with greater force than any of our *Calumniators*. (For we have Accuſers of the other ſide too.) All the *Fathers* that writ againſt the *Arians*, believed thoſe Myſteries, tho they never cited that Paſſage, from which it was reaſonable to conclude, that it was not in their Bibles; otherwiſe it is not to be imagined, that ſuch Men as St. *Athanaſe* and St. *Auſtin*, ſhould not have mentioned it; now the many other places of Scripture, that determine me to believe the *Divinity of the Saviour of the World*, are ſo clear, that I believe it equally well, whether this paſſage be acknowledged to be genuine or not. But having for ſome years taken pleaſure to compare *Manuſcripts*, thoſe of the Holy Scriptures were naturally the moſt looked into by me; and ſince a Man that has but a tranſcient View of M. SS. cannot ſtay to examine them in many Paſſages, that Paſſage being the moſt Important of all that are controverted, I turned always to it, and have given the account of what I ſaw ſincerely, both for it and againſt it. For I have learned from *Job*, *not to lye for God*, ſince truth needs no ſupport from falſhood: And I may well forgive thoſe of a Church, who have built ſo much upon *Forgeries* and *Counterfeit Pieces*, to be angry with me, for giving ſo ſincere an account, as I did of a Matter of Fact. But that *Divine Saviour*, whom *I adore daily*, *as God equal with the Father*, knows the Injuſtice that is done me in this, as well as in the other falſe Accuſations with which my Enemies ſtudy to blacken me: I can aſſure them, that I have that Deteſtation of all *Idolatry*, and of *theirs* in particular, that I ſhould never *adore him* as I do, if I did not think him to be *by Nature God*, *over all*, *bleſſed for ever*.

And now to conclude, if Men will not receive this Vindication of my ſelf, with the Juſtice that is due to me, I humbly commit my Cauſe to him, *who judges righteouſly*; *who ſees all things*, *and who will bring to light the hidden things of diſhoneſty*; and who will either *compaſs me with his favour as with a ſhield*, and cover me from the rage of my Enemies; or if he lets me fall into their hands, will accept of the Sacrifice of my

my Life that I offer to him, and *receive me into his Presence*; where I shall be at quiet, and safe both from the *Strife of Tongues, and from the Pride of Man.*

*GILBERT BURNET.*

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## A Letter, *containing some* Remarks *on the* two Papers, *writ by his late Majesty King* Charles the Second, *concerning* Religion.

*SIR,*

I Thank you for the *Two Royal Papers* that you have sent me: I had heard of them before, but now we have them so well attested, that there is no hazard of being deceived by a false Copy: You expect that in return, I should let you know, what Impression they have made upon me. I pay all the reverence that is due to a *Crown'd Head*, even in Ashes, to which I will never be wanting: Far less am I capable of suspecting the *Royal Attestation that accompanies them*; of the truth of which I take it for granted no man doubts; but I must crave leave to tell you, that I am confident, the *late King* only *Copied them*, and that they are not of *his* composing: for as they have nothing of that *free Air*, with which he expressed himself; so there is a Contexture in them, that does not look like a *Prince*; and the beginning of the *first* shews it was the effect of a *Conversation*, and was to be communicated to another; so that I am apt to think they were composed by another, and were so well relished by the *late King*, that he thought fit to keep them, in oder to his examining them more particularly; and that he was prevailed with *to Copy them*, lest a Paper of that Nature might have been made a Crime, if it had been found about him written by another hand: And I could name *one* or *two Persons*, who as they were able enough to compose such *Papers*, so had Power enough over his Spirit to engage him to Copy them, and to put themselves out of danger, by restoring *the Original.*

You

You ought to addreſs your ſelf to the *Learned Divines* of our *Church*, for an *Anſwer* to ſuch things in them as puzzle you, and not to one that has not the Honour to be of that *Body*; and that has now carried a Sword for ſome time, and imploys the Leaſure that at any time he enjoys, rather in *Philoſophical* and *Mathematical Enquiries*, than in matters of *Controverſy*. There is indeed one Conſideration, that determined me more eaſily to comply with your deſires, which is, my having had the honour to *Diſcourſe* copiouſly of thoſe matters with the *late King* himſelf; and he having propoſed to me ſome of the *Particulars* that I find in thoſe *Papers*; and I having ſaid ſeveral things to him, in anſwer to thoſe *Heads*, which he offered to me only as *Objections*, with which he ſeemed fully ſatisfied; I am the more willing to communicate to you, *that* which I took the Liberty to lay before his *late Majeſty* on ſeveral occaſions; the Particulars on which he inſiſted in Diſcourſe with me, were the *uſeleſneſs of a Law without a Judg, and the neceſſity of an Infallible Tribunal to determine Controverſies*; to which he added, *The many Sects that were in* England, *which ſeemed to be a neceſſary conſequence of the Liberty that every one took to interpret the Scriptures: and he often repeated that of the* Church of England's *arguing, from the obligation to obey the Church, againſt the Sectaries, which he thought was of no force, unleſs they allowed more Authority to the Church than they ſeemed willing to admit in their Diſputes with the Church of* Rome. But upon this whole Matter I will offer you ſome *Reflections*, that will, I hope, be of as great weight with you, as they are with my ſelf.

I. All *Arguments* that prove upon ſuch general Conſiderations, That there ought to be an *Infallible Judge* named by *Chriſt*, and clothed with his *Authority*, ſignifie nothing, unleſs it can be ſhewed us, in what *Texts of Scripture* that nomination is to be found; and till that is ſhewed, they are only *Arguments* brought to prove that *Chriſt ought to have done ſomewhat that he has not done*. So theſe are in effect ſo many *Arguments* againſt *Chriſt*, unleſs, it appears that he has authoriſed ſuch a *Judge*: therefore the right way to end this diſpute, is, to ſhew where ſuch a *Conſtitution* is authoriſed: So that the moſt that can be made of this is, that it amounts to a *favourable preſumption*.

II. It is a very unreaſonable thing for us to form *Preſumptions*,

of what *is*, or *ought to be*, from Inconveniences that do ariſe, in caſe that ſuch things are not: for we may carry this ſo far, that it will not be eaſie to ſtop it. It ſeems more ſuitable to the infinite Goodneſs of *God*, to communicate the knowledge of himſelf to all Mankind, and to furniſh every Man with ſuch aſſiſtances as will certainly prevail over him. It ſeems alſo reaſonable to think, that ſo perfect a Saviour as *Jeſus Chriſt* was, ſhould have ſhewed us a *certain Way*, and yet conſiſtent with the *free Uſe of our Faculties*, of avoiding all *ſin*: nor is it very eaſie to imagine, that it ſhould be a reproach on his *Goſpel*, if there is not an *Infallible Preſervative* againſt *Error*, when it is acknowledged, that there is *no infallible Preſervative againſt Sin*: for it is certain, that the one Damns us more *Infallibly* than the other.

III. Since *Preſumptions* are ſo much inſiſted on, to prove what things muſt be appointed by *Chriſt*; it is to be conſidered, that it is alſo a reaſonable *Preſumption*, that if ſuch a *Court* was appointed by him, it muſt be done in ſuch plain terms that there can be no room to queſtion the meaning of them; and ſince this is the hinge upon which all other matters turn, it ought to be expreſſed ſo particularly, in *whom* it is veſted, that there ſhould be no occaſion given to diſpute, whether it is in *One Man* or in *A Body*; and if in a body, whether in the Majority, or in the two thirds, or in the whole Body unanimouſly agreeing: in ſhort, the Chief thing in all Governments being the Nature and Power of the Judges, thoſe are always diſtinctly ſpecified; and therefore if theſe things are not ſpecified in the *Scriptures*, it is at leaſt a ſtrong Preſumption *that* Chriſt *did not intend to authoriſe ſuch* Judges.

IV. There were ſeveral Controverſies raiſed among the *Churches* to which the *Apoſtles* writ, as appears by the Epiſtles to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Galatians* and *Coloſſians*, yet the *Apoſtles* never make uſe of thoſe paſſages that are pretended for this Authority, to put an end to thoſe Controverſies; which is a ſhrewd Preſumption, that they did not underſtand them in that ſenſe in which the *Church* of *Rome* does now take them. Nor does St. *Paul* in the directions that he gives to *Church-men* in his Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, reckon this of *ſubmitting to the directions of the Church* for one, which he could not have omit-

mitted, if this be the true meaning of those disputed passages; and yet he has not one word sounding that way, which is very different from the directions which one possessed with the present view that the Church of *Rome* has of this matter, must needs have given.

V. There are some things very expressly taught in the *New Testament*, such as the *rules of a Good Life*, the *Use of the Sacraments*, the *addressing our selves to God for Mercy and Grace*, through the Sacrifice that Christ offered for us on the Cross, and the Worshipping him as *God*, the Death, Resurrection and Ascension of *Jesus Christ*, the Resurrection of our Bodies, and Life Everlasting, by which it is apparent, that we are set beyond doubt in those matters; if then there are other passages more obscure concerning other matters, we must Conclude, that these are not of that Consequence, otherwise they would have been as plainly revealed as the others are; but above all, if the *Authority of the Church* is delivered to us in *disputable terms*, that is a just prejudice against it, since it is a thing of such Consequence, that it ought to have been revealed in a way so very clear and past all dispute.

VI. If it is a presumption for *particular persons* to judge concerning *Religion*, which must be still referred to the *Priests* and other Guides in sacred matters; this is a good Argument to oblige all *Nations* to continue in the *Established Religion*, whatever it may happen to be; and above all others, it was a convincing Argument in the mouths of the *Jews* against our *Saviour*. He pretended to be the *Messias*, and proved it both by the *prophesies* that were accomplished in him, and by the *Miracles* that he wrought: as for the *Prophesies*, the Reasons urged by the Church of *Rome* will conclude much stronger, that such dark Passages as those of the Prophets were, ought not to be interpreted by *Particular persons*, but that the Exposition of these must be referred to the *Priests* and *Sanhedrin*, it being expressly provided in their law (*Deut.* 17. 8.) *That when controversies arose, concerning any cause that was too intricate, they were to go to the place which God should choose, and to the Priests of the tribe of Levi, and to the judge in those days, and that they were to declare what was right, and to their decision all were obliged to submit, under pain of death*: so that by this it appears, that the

*Prieſts* in the *Jewiſh Religion* were authorized in ſo extraordinary a manner, that I dare ſay the Church of *Rome* would not wiſh for a more formal Teſtimony on her behalf: As for our *Saviour's Miracles*, theſe were not ſufficient neither, unleſs his *doctrine* was firſt found to be good: ſince *Moſes* had expreſly warned the People (*Deut.* 13: 1.) *That if a Prophet came and taught them to follow after other Gods, they were not to obey him, tho he wrought miracles to prove his Miſſion, but were to put him to death*: So a *Jew* ſaying, that *Chriſt*, by making himſelf one with his father, brought in the worſhip of another *God*, might well pretend that he was not obliged to yield to the authority of our *Saviour's Miracles*, without taking cognizance of his doctrine, and of the Propheſies concerning the *Meſſias*, and in a word, of the whole matter. So that, if theſe *Reaſonings* are now good againſt the *Reformation*, they were as ſtrong in the mouths of the *Jews* againſt our *Saviour*; and from hence we ſee, that the authority that ſeems to be given by *Moſes* to the *Prieſts*, muſt be underſtood with ſome Reſtrictions; ſince we not only find the Prophets, and *Jeremy* in particular, oppoſing themſelves to the whole body of them, but we ſee likewiſe, that for ſome conſiderable time before our *Saviour's* days, not only many ill-grounded *traditions* had got in among them, by which the vigour of the moral law was much enervated; but likewiſe they were alſo univerſally poſſeſſed with a falſe notion of their *Meſſias*; ſo that even the *Apoſtles* themſelves had not quite ſhaken off thoſe Prejudices at the time of our *Saviour's Aſcenſion*. So that here a Church, that was ſtill the *Church of God*, that had the appointed means of the *Expiation of their ſins*, by their *Sacrifices* and *Waſhings*, as well as by their *Circumciſion*, was yet under great and fatal *Errors*, from which particular perſons had no way to extricate themſelves, but by examining the Doctrine and texts of *Scripture*, and by judging of them according to the Evidence of Truth, and the force and freedom of their Faculties.

VII. It ſeems Evident, that the paſſage [*Tell the Church*] belongs only to the *Reconciling of Differences*, that of [*Binding and of Looſing*] according to the uſe of thoſe terms among the *Jews*, ſignifies only an *Authority* that was given to the *Apoſtles*, of giving Precepts, by which men were to be obliged to ſuch

ſuch Duties, or ſet at liberty from them: and [*the gates of Hell not prevailing againſt the Church*] ſignifies only, that the *Chriſtian Religion* was never to come to an end, or to periſh: and that of [*Chriſt's being with the Apoſtles to the end of the world*] imports only a ſpecial *Conduct* and *Protection* which the *Church* may always expect; but as the promiſe, *I will not leave thee nor forſake thee*; that belongs to every *Chriſtian*, does not import an *infallibility*: no more does the other: And for thoſe paſſages concerning [*the ſpirit of God that ſearches all things*] it is plain, that in them St. *Paul* is treating of the *Divine inſpiration*, by which the *Chriſtian Religion* was then opened to the world; which he ſets in oppoſition to the *wiſdom* or *Philoſophy* of the *Greeks*; ſo that as all thoſe paſſages come far ſhort of proving that for which they are alledged; it muſt at leaſt be acknowledged, that they have not an evidence great enough to prove ſo important a truth, as ſome would evince by them; ſince 'tis a matter of ſuch vaſt conſequence, that the proofs for it muſt have an undeniable Evidence.

VIII. In the matters of *Religion*, two things are to be conſidered; firſt, The *Account* that we muſt give to God, and the *Rewards* that we expect from him: And in this every Man muſt anſwer for the ſincerity of his Heart, in examining Divine Matters; and the following, what (upon the beſt enquiries that one could make) appeared to be true; and with Relation to this, there is no need of a *Judg*; for in that Great Day every one muſt anſwer to God according to the Talents that he had, and all will be ſaved according to their Sincerity; and with Relation to that Judgment, there is no need of any other Judg but God. A ſecond View of *Religion*, is, as it is a *Body* united together, and by conſequence brought under ſome Regulation. And as in all *States*, there are ſubaltern *Judges*, in whoſe Deciſions all muſt at leaſt acquieſce, tho they are not *Infallible*, there being ſtill a ſort of an Appeal to be made to the *Soveraign*, or the Supream Legiſlative Body; ſo the *Church* has a Subaltern *Juriſdiction*; but as the Authority of inferior Judges is ſtill regulated, and none but the Legiſlators themſelves have an Authority equal to the Law: So it is not neceſſary for the Preſervation of Peace and Order, that the *Deciſions* of the *Church* ſhould be *Infallible*, or of equal *Authority* with the *Scriptures*. If Judges do

do ſo manifeſtly abuſe their Authority, that they fall into Rebellion and Treaſon, the Subjects are no more bound to conſider them, but are obliged to reſiſt them, and to maintain their Obedience to their Soveraign; tho in other matters their Judgment muſt take place, till they are reverſed by the Soveraign. The caſe of *Religion* being then this, *That Jeſus Chriſt is the Soveraign of the Church*; the Aſſembly of the *Paſtors* is only a Subaltern *Judg*: If they manifeſtly oppoſe themſelves to the *Scriptures* which is the *Law of Chriſtians*, particular Perſons may be ſuppoſed as competent *Judges* of that, as in Civil Matters they may be of the *Rebellion* of the *Judges*; and in that caſe they are bound ſtill to maintain their Obedience to *Jeſus Chriſt*, in matters *Indifferent*. Chriſtians are bound for the Preſervation of Peace and Unity, to acquieſce in the Deciſion of the *Church*, and in matters juſtly doubtful, or of ſmall Conſequence, tho they are convinced that the *Paſtors* have erred, yet they are obliged to be Silent, and to bear tolerable things, rather than make a Breach: but if it is viſible, that the *Paſtors* do *Rebel* againſt the *Soveraign* of the Church, I mean *Chriſt*, the People may put in their Appeal to that great *Judg*, and there it muſt lie. If the *Church* did uſe this Authority with due Diſcretion, and the People followed the Rules that I have named with Humility and Modeſty, there would be no great danger of many Diviſions; but this is the great Secret of the Providence of God, that men are ſtill men, and both *Paſtors* and *People* mix their Paſſions and Intereſts ſo with matters of *Religion*, that there is a great deal of Sin and Vice ſtill in the World, ſo that it appears in the Matters of *Religion*, as well as in other things: but the ill Conſequences of this, tho they are bad enough, yet are not equal to the Effects that ignorant Superſtition, and obedient Zeal have produced in the World, witneſs the Rebellions and *Wars* for eſtabliſhing the *Worſhip of Images*, the *Croiſſades* againſt the *Saracens*, in which many Millions were loſt; thoſe againſt *Hereticks*, and *Princes* depoſed by *Popes*, which laſted for ſome Ages; and the *Maſſacre* of *Paris*, with the Butcheries of the Duke of *Alva* in the laſt Age, and that of *Ireland* in this; which are, I ſuppoſe, far greater Miſchiefs than any that can be imagined to ariſe out of a *ſmall diverſity of Opinion*; and the preſent State of this *Church*, notwithſtanding all thoſe unhappy

*Rents*

*Rents* that are in it, is a much more desirable thing, than the *gross Ignorance* and *blind Superstition* that reigns in *Italy* and *Spain* at this day.

IX. All these reasonings concerning the *Infallibility of the Church*, signify nothing, unless we can certainly know, *whither we must go for this Decision*; for while one Party shews us, that it must be in the *Pope*, or is no where; and another Party says it cannot be in the *Pope*, because as many *Popes* have erred, so this is a *Doctrine* that was not known in the *Church* for a thousand years, and that has been disputed ever since it was first asserted, we are in the right to believe both sides; *first*, that if it is not in the *Pope*, it is no where; and then, that certainly it it not in the *Pope*; and it is very Incongruous to say, That there is an *Infallible* Authority in the *Church*, and that yet it is not certain where one must seek for it; for the one ought to be as clear as the other; and it is also plain, that what *Primacy* soever St. *Peter* may be supposed to have had, the Scripture says not one word of his *Successors* at *Rome*; so at least this is not so clear, as a matter of this Consequence must have been, if *Christ* had intended to have lodged such an *Authority* in that *See*.

X. It is no less Incongruous to say, that this *Infallibility* is in a *General Council*; for it must be somewhere else, otherwise it will return only to the *Church* by some Starts, and after long Intervals; and as it was not in the *Church* for the first 320 years, so it has not been in the *Church* these last 120 years. It is plain also, that there is no Regulation given in the *Scriptures* concerning this great *Assembly*, who have a right to come and Vote; and what forfeits this Right, and what numbers must concur in a Decision, to assure us of the *Infallibility* of the *Judgment*. It is certain, there was never a *General Council* of all the Pastors of the *Church*; for those of which we have the *Acts*, were only the *Councils* of the *Roman Empire*; but for those *Churches* that were in the South of *Africk*, or the Eastern Parts of *Asia*, beyond the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, as they could not be summoned by the *Emperor*'s Authority, so it is certain none of them were present; unless one or two of *Persia* at *Nice*, which perhaps was a Corner of *Persia* belonging to the *Empire*; and unless it can be proved, that the *Pope* has an *Absolute Authority*

*thority to cut off whole Churches from their right of coming to Councils*, there has been no *General Council* these last 700. years in the World, ever since the *Bishops* of *Rome* have excommunicated all the *Greek Churches* upon such trifling Reasons, that their own Writers are now ashamed of them; and I will ask no more of a Man of a competent Understanding, to satisfy him that the *Council of Trent* was no *General Council*, acting in that Freedom that became *Bishops*, than that he will be at the pains to read Card. *Pallavicin*'s History of that *Council*.

XI. If it is said, *That this* Infallibility *is to be sought for in the* Tradition *of the* Doctrine *in all Ages, and that every* particular Person *must examine this*: Here is a Sea before him, and instead of examining the small Book of the *New Testament*, he is involved in a Study that must cost a Man an Age to go thorow it; and many of the *Ages*, through which he carries this Enquiry, are so dark, and have produced so few Writers, at least so few are preserved to our days, that it is not possible to find out their belief. We find also *Traditions* have varied so much, that it is hard to say, that there is much weight to be laid on this way of Conveyance. A *Tradition* concerning Matters of Fact that all People see, is less apt to fail than a *Tradition* of Points of Speculation; and yet we see very near the Age of the *Apostles*, contrary *Traditions* touching the *Observation of Easter*, from which we must conclude, that either the Matter of Fact of one side, or the other, as it was handed down, was not true, or at least, that it was not rightly understood. A *Tradition* concerning the *Use of the Sacraments*, being a visible thing, is more likely to be exact, than a Speculation concerning their Nature; and yet we find a *Tradition* of giving *Infants* the *Communion*, grounded on the indispensible necessity of the Sacrament, continued a thousand years in the *Church*. A *Tradition* on which the *Christians* founded their *Joy* and *Hope*, is less like to be changed, than a more remote Speculation; and yet the first Writers of the *Christian Religion*, had a *Tradition* handed down to them by those who saw the *Apostles*, of the *Reign of Christ for a thousand year upon Earth*; and if those who had Matters at the second hand from the *Apostles*, could be thus mistaken, it is more reasonable to apprehend greater Errors at such a distance. A *Tradition* concerning the *Book* of the

*Scriptures*,

*Scriptures* is more like to be exact, than the Expoſition of ſome Paſſages in it; and yet we find the *Church* did unanimouſly believe the *Tranſlation* of the 70. *Interpreters* to have been the effect of a miraculous Inſpiration, till St. *Jerome* examined this Matter better, and made a *New Tranſlation* from the *Hebrew* Copies. But which is more than all the reſt, it ſeems plain, That the *Fathers* before the *Council of Nice*, believed the *Divinity* of the *Son of God* to be in ſome ſort *Inferior* to that of the *Father*, and for ſome Ages after the *Council of Nice*, they believed them indeed both equal; but they conſider theſe as two different Beings, and only one in *Eſſence*, as three. Men have the ſame humane Nature in common among them; and that as one Candle lights another, ſo the one flowed from another; and after the *fifth Century*, the Doctrine of *one individual Eſſence* was received. If you will be farther informed concerning this, *Father Petua* will ſatisfy you as to the firſt Period before the *Council of Nice*, and the Learned Dr. *Cudworth*, as to the ſecond. In all which particulars it appears, how variable a thing *Tradition* is. And upon the whole Matter, the examining *Tradition* thus, is ſtill a ſearching among Books, and here is no living Judg.

XII. If then the *Authority* that muſt decide *Controverſies*, lies in the Body of the *Paſtors* ſcattered over the World, which is the laſt Retrenchment; here as many and as great Scruples will ariſe, as we found in any of the former Heads. Two difficulties appear at firſt View, the one is, *How can we be aſſured that the preſent* Paſtors *of the* Church *are derived in a juſt Succeſſion from the* Apoſtles; there are no *Regiſters* extant that prove this: So that we have nothing for it but ſome *Hiſtories*, that are ſo careleſly writ, that we find many miſtakes in them in other Matters; and they are ſo different in the very firſt links of that Chain, that immediately ſucceded the *Apoſtles*, that the utmoſt can be made of this, is, that here is a Hiſtorical *Relation* ſomewhat doubtful; but here is nothing to found our Faith on: So that if a Succeſſion from the *Apoſtles* times, is neceſſary to the Conſtitution of that *Church*, to which we muſt ſubmit our ſelves, we know not where to find it; beſides, that the *Doctrine* of the neceſſity of the *Intention* of the *Miniſter* to the *Validity* of a *Sacrament*, throws us into inextricable difficulties. I know they

generally ſay, That by the *Intention* they do not mean the *inward* Acts of the Miniſter of the *Sacrament*, but only that it muſt appear by his *outward* Deportment, that he is in earneſt going about a *Sacrament*, and not doing a thing in jeſt; and this appeared ſo reaſonable to me, that I was ſorry to find our *Divines* urge it too much; till turning over the *Rubricks* that are at the beginning of the *Miſſal*, I found upon the head of the *Intention* of the Miniſter, that if a *Prieſt* has a number of *Hoſties* before him to be conſecrated, and intends to Conſecrate them all, except one, in that caſe that vagrant Exception falls upon them all; it not being affixed to any one, and it is defined that he Conſecrates none at all. Here it is plain, that the ſecret *Acts* of a *Prieſt* can defeat the *Sacrament*; ſo that this overthrows all certainty concerning a *Succeſſion*: But beſides all this, we are ſure, that the *Greek Churches* have a much more unconteſted *Succeſſion* than the *Latins*; ſo that a *Succeſſion* cannot direct us. And if it is neceſſary to ſeek out the Doctrines that are univerſally received, this is not poſſible for a private Man to know. So that in ignorant Countries, where there is little Study, the People have no other certainty concerning their *Religion*, but what they take from their *Curate* and *Confeſſor*; ſince they cannot examine what is generally received. So that it muſt be confeſſed that all the Arguments that are brought for the neceſſity of a conſtant *Infallible Judg*, turn againſt all thoſe of the *Church of Rome*, that do not acknowledg the *Infallibility* of the *Pope*; for if he is not *Infallible*, they have no other *Judg* that can pretend to it. It were alſo eaſy to ſhew, That ſome *Doctrines* have been as univerſally received in ſome *Ages*, as they have been rejected in others; which ſhews, that the Doctrine of the preſent *Church* is not always a ſure meaſure. For five *Ages* together, the Doctrine of the *Popes* Power to *depoſe Heretical Princes*, was received without the leaſt Oppoſition; and this cannot be doubted by any that knows what has been the State of the *Church*, ſince the end of the Eleventh *Century*; and yet I believe few *Princes* would allow this, notwithſtanding all the concurring Authority of ſo many Ages to fortify it. I could carry this into a great many other Inſtances, but I ſingle out this, becauſe it is a Point in which *Princes* are naturally extream ſenſible.

Upon

Upon the whole Matter, it can never enter into my mind, that God, who has made Man a Creature, that naturally enquires and reaſons, and that feels as ſenſible a pleaſure, when he can give himſelf a good account of his Actions, as one that ſees, does perceive in Compariſon to a blind Man that is led about; and that this God, that has alſo made *Religion* on deſign to perfect this humane Nature, and to raiſe it to the utmoſt height to which it can arrive, has contrived it to be dark, and to be ſo much beyond the Penetration of our Faculties, that we cannot find out his mind in thoſe things that are neceſſary for our Salvation; and that the *Scriptures*, that were writ by plain Men, in a very familiar Stile, and addreſt without any Diſcrimination to the Vulgar, ſhould become ſuch an unintelligible Book in theſe Ages, that we muſt have an *Infallible Judg* to expound it; and when I ſee not only *Popes*, but even ſome Bodies that paſs for *General Councils*, have ſo expounded many Paſſages of it, and have wreſted them ſo viſibly, that none of the *Modern Writers* of that *Church* pretend to excuſe it: I ſay, I muſt freely own to you, that when I find I need a *Commentary* on dark Paſſages, theſe will be the laſt Perſons to whom I will addreſs my ſelf for it. Thus you ſee how fully I have opened my mind to you in this matter: I have gone over a great deal of Ground in as few Words as is poſſible, becauſe hints I know are enough for you. I thank God, theſe Conſiderations do fully ſatisfy me, and I will be infinitely joyed, if they have the ſame effect on you.

*I am yours.*

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*THis Letter came to* London *with the return of the firſt Poſt, after his late* Majeſties Papers *were ſent into the Country; ſome that ſaw it, liked it well, and wiſhed to have it publick, and the rather, becauſe the Writer did not ſo entirely confine himſelf to the Reaſons that were in thoſe* Papers, *but took the whole Controverſy to task in a little compaſs, and yet with a great variety of Reflections. And this way of examining the whole Matter, without following thoſe Papers word for word, or the finding more fault*

*than the common concern of this Cauſe required, ſeemed more agreeing to the Reſpect that is due to the Dead, and more particularly to the Memory of ſo great a* Prince; *but other Conſiderations made it not ſo eaſy nor ſo adviſeable, to procure a Licenſe for the Printing this Letter, it has been kept in private Hands till now: thoſe who have boaſted much of the* Shortneſs *of the* late Kings Papers, *and of the* Length *of the* Anſwers *that have been made to them, will not find ſo great a Diſproportion between* them *and this* Anſwer to them.

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# *An* ENQUIRY *into the Reaſons for Abrogating the* TEST, *impoſed on all Members of Parliament.*

## Offered by *Sa. Oxon.*

WHen the *Cardinals* in *Rome* go abroad without *Fiocco*'s on their Horſes heads, it is underſtood that they will be then *Incognito*, and they expect nothing of that Reſpect which is payed them on other Occaſions. So ſince there is no *Fiocco* at the Head of this *Diſcourſe*, no Name nor Deſignation, it ſeems the Writer offers himſelf to be examined without thoſe nice regards, that may be due to the Dignity he bears; and indeed, when a Man forgets what he is himſelf, it is very natural for others to do it likewiſe.

It is no wonder to ſee thoſe of the *Roman Communion* beſtir themſelves, ſo much as they do, to be delivered from the *Teſt*, and every thing elſe that is uneaſy to them; and tho others may find it very reaſonable to oppoſe themſelves in all the juſt and legal ways that agree with our Conſtitution, to this Deſign; yet it is ſo natural to all that are under any Preſſure, to deſire to get free from it, that at the ſame time that we cannot forbear to withſtand them, we cannot much condemn them; but it raiſes nature a little, to ſee a *Man* that has been ſo long fatned with the *Spoils* of our Church, and who has

now

now got up to a degree ſo diſproportioned to his Merit, to turn ſo treacherouſly upon it. If he is already weary of his *comfortable importance*, and will here give her into the Bargain, and declare himſelf; no Body will be ſurprized at the change of his Maſque: ſince he has taken much pains to convince the World, that his *Religion* goes no deeper than his *Habit*: yet, tho his Confidence is of a piece with all his other Virtues, few thought it could have carried him ſo far: I confeſs I am not ſurprized, but rather wonder to ſee that others ſhould be ſo: for he has given ſufficient warning of what he is capable of; he has told the World *what is the worſt thing that Dr.* Burnet *can do*, p. 50. But I am ſure the Dr. cannot be quit with him, to tell what is the *worſt thing* that he can do; it muſt needs be a very fruitful fancy that can find out all the degrees of wickedneſs to which he can go: and tho this Pamphlet is a good Eſſay of his Talent that way, yet that *Terra Incognita* is boundleſs. In the *title Page* it is ſaid that this was *firſt writ for the Author's own ſatisfaction, and now publiſhed for the benefit of all others whom it may concern.* But the words are certainly wrong placed; for the truth of the matter is, That it was *Written for the Author's own benefit, and that it is now publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of all others whom it may concern:* in ſome ſenſe perhaps it was written for the Author's own ſatisfaction: for ſo petulant and ſo depraved a mind as His, is capable of being delighted with His Treachery: and a poor *Biſheprick* with the addition of a *Preſidentſhip* being too low a prize for His Ambition and Avarice, He reſolved to aſſure Himſelf of the firſt great *Biſhoprick* that falls; the *Liege Letter* lets us ſee how far the *Jeſuits* were aſſured of Him, and how much courted by Him: and that He ſaid, *That none but* Atheiſts *ſupported the Proteſtant Religion now in* England; yet how many ſoever of theſe may be among us, He is upon the point of leſſening their number, by one at leaſt: and he takes care to juſtifie the hopes which theſe *Fathers* conceived of Him. They are ſevere Maſters, and will not be put off with ſecret Civilities, lewd Jeſts, Entertainments, and Healths drank to their good Succeſs; ſo now the Price of the *Preſidentſhip* is to be pay'd, ſo good a Morſel as this deſerved that Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Burnet*, and ſome other Divines ſhould be ill uſed, and He to preſerve the Character of *Drawcanſir*, which is

a

as due to Him as that of *Bays*, falls upon the *Articles* of the *Church*, and upon both *Houſes* of *Parliament*. It is Reproach enough to the *Houſe of Lords*, that He is of it; but it is ſomewhat new, and a Character becoming *Sa. Oxon*, to arraign that *Houſe* with all the Inſolence to which he can raiſe his wanton Pen. Laws that are in being are treated with reſpect even by thoſe who move for their Repeal; but our *Drawcanſir* ſcorns that modeſt ſtrain, he is not contented to arraign the *Law*, but calls it *Barbarous*, and ſays, *That nothing can be more Barbarous and Prophane than to make the renouncing of a Myſtery, ſo unanimouſly received, a* State Teſt; *pag.* 133. *pag.* 64. But he ought to have avoided the word *Prophane*, ſince it leads men to remember, that he had taxed the Praying for the King, *as under God and Chriſt, as Crude*, not to ſay *Prophane*: when in the Proſpect he had then [36] of a *Biſhoprick*, he raiſed the *King* above *Chriſt*, but now another Proſpect, will make him ſink him beneath the *Pope*, who is but at beſt *Chriſt's Vicar*. But this is not all, there comes another Flower that is worthy of him; he tells us, *That the* TEST *was the firſt-born of* Oats's *Plot, and brought forth on purpoſe to give Credit and Reputation to the Perjury*, p. 5. And becauſe this went in common between the *Two Houſes*, he beſtows a more particular mark of his Favour on the *Houſe of Lords*: and tells them, *That this was a Monument erected by themſelves in honour of ſo groſs an Impoſture.* (Ibid.) But after all, the Royal *Aſſent* was added; and here no doubt it itched ſomewhere, for if it had not been for the manner of the Late King's Death, and the *Papers* publiſhed ſince his *Death*, he would have wreaked his Malice upon his *Memory*, for he will never forgive his not advancing him: And the Late *King* being ſo true a Judg of Wit, could not but be much taken with the beſt *Satyr* of our Time; and ſaw that *Bays's Wit*, when meaſured with another's, was of a piece with his Virtues, and therefore judged in favour of the *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd*: this went deep, and though it gave occaſion to the ſingle piece of Modeſty, with which he can be charged, of withdrawing from the Town, and not importuning the Preſs more for ſome years, ſince even a Face of Braſs muſt grow red, when it is ſo burnt as his was then; yet his Malice againſt the Elder *Brother* was never extinguiſhed but with his Life: But now a ſtrange Conjuncture has

brought

brought him again on the Stage, and *Bays* will be *Bays* ſtill.

He begins his Prologue with the only ſoft word in the whole piece, *I humbly Conceive*; but he quickly repents him of that *Demarity*, and ſo makes *Thunder* and *Lightning* ſpeak the reſt, as if his Deſigns were to Inſult over the two Houſes, and not to convince them. He who is one of the Punies of his Order, and is certainly one of its juſteſt Reproaches, tells us pag. 8. "That to the Shame of the Biſhops, this Law was conſented to "by them in the Houſe of Lords: But what ſhame is due to him, who has treated that Venerable *Bench*, and in particular his *Metropolitan*, in ſo ſcurrilous a manner? The *Order* has much more cauſe to be aſhamed of ſuch a Member: tho if there are two or three ſuch as he is among the twenty ſix, they may Comfort themſelves with this, that a dozen of *much better* Men, had one ameng them, that I confeſs was not *much worſe*, if it was not for this, that *he* let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than *Sa. Oxon* does, who is ſtill true to his old Maxim, that he delivered in Anſwer to one who asked him, "What was "the beſt Body of Divinity? Which was, That that which "could help a man to keep a Coach and ſix Horſes, was certain-"ly the beſt. But now I come to Examine his Reaſons for A-brogating the TEST.

The firſt is, "That it is contrary to the *Natural Rights of* "*Peerage*, and turns the Birth-Right of the *Engliſh* Nobility "into a Precarious Title, which is at the mercy of every "Faction and Paſſion in Parliament; and that therefore, how "uſeful ſoever the TEST might have been in its Seaſon, it "ſome time muſt prove a very ill Preſident againſt the Right of "Peerage: and upon this he tells a Story of a Proteſtation "made in the Houſe of Lords, againſt the TEST, that was "brought in in 1675, together with the Reſolution of the "Houſe againſt that Penalty upon the Peers, of loſing their "Votes in caſe of a Refuſal: he repreſents this, as a Teſt or "Oath of Loyalty againſt the Lawfulneſs of taking Arms up-"on any pretence whatſoever againſt the King.

But in Anſwer to all this, one would gladly know what are the *Natural Rights* of *Peerage*, and in what Chapter of the Law of Nature they are to be found; for if thoſe Rights have no other Warrant, but the Conſtitution of this Government, then they

they are still subject to the Legislative Authority, and may be regulated by it. The Right of Peerage is still in the Family, only as the exercise of it is limited by the Law to such an Age, so it may be Suspended as oft as the Publick Safety comes to require it: even the indelible Character it self, may be brought under a total Suspension, of which our Author may, perhaps, afford an instance at some time or other.

2. Votes in either House of Parliament, are never to be put in ballance with Establish'd Laws: These are but the Opinions of One House, and are changeable.

3. But if the TEST might have been useful in its Season, one would gladly see how it should be so soon out of Season: for its chief use being to Secure the Protestant Religion in 1678, it does not appear, That now in 1688, the Dangers are so quite dissipated, that there is no more need of securing it. In one Sense we are in a safer Condition than we were then: For some false Brethren have shewed themselves, and have lost that little Credit which some unhappy Accidents had procured them.

4. It was not the Loyalty in the TEST of the Year 1675, that raised the greatest opposition to it: But another part of it, "That they should never Endeavour any alteration in the Go-"vernment, either in the Church or State. Now it seemed to be an unreasonable Limitation on the Legislative Body, to have the *Members* engaged to make no Alteration: And it is that which would not have much pleased those, *For whose satisfaction this Book is published.*

The second Reason was already hinted at, *of its dishonourable birth and original*; p. 10. which according to the decency of his Stile, he calls *the first Sacrament of the Otesian Villany*, pag. 9. This he aggravates *as such a Monstrous and Inhuman piece of Barbarity as could never have entered into the thoughts of any man but the infamous Author of it*; this piece of Elegance, tho it belongs to this Reason, comes in again in his fourth Reason, *pag.* 6. and to let the *House of Lords* see their Fate, if they will not yield to his *Reasons*, he tells them that this will be not only an "Eternal "National Reproach, but such a blot upon the *Peers*, that no "length of time could wear away, nothing but the Universal "Conflagration could destroy; Which are the apteſt Expreſſions that

that I know to mark how deeply the many blots with which he is ſtigmatized are rooted in his Nature. The wanton man in his *Drawcanſir*-humor thinks that *Parliaments* and a *Houſe of Peers* are to be treated by him with as much ſcorn as is juſtly due to himſelf. But to ſet this matter in its true Light, it is to be remembred that in 1678, there were beſides the Evidences of the *Witneſſes*, a great many other Diſcoveries made of *Letters* and *Negotiations* in forreign Parts, chiefly in the Courts of *France* and *Rome*, for Extirpating the *Proteſtant Religion*; upon which the *Party* that was moſt united to the *Court*, ſet on this Law, for the *Teſt*, as that which was both in it ſelf a juſt and neceſſary Security for the Eſtabliſh'd *Religion*, and that would probably lay the fermentation which was then in the Nation: and the *Act* was ſo little acceptable to him, whom he calls *its Author*, that he ſpake of it then with Contempt, as a *Trick* of the Court to lay the *Nation* too ſoon aſleep. The Negotiations beyond Sea were too evidently proved to be denied; and (which is not yet generally known) Mr. *Coleman* when Examined by the *Committee* of the Houſe of *Commons*, ſaid plain enough to them, that the Late *King* was concerned in them; but the *Committee* would not look into that matter, and ſo Mr. *Sacheverill*, that was their Chair-man, did not report it; yet the thing was not ſo ſecret but that one to whom it was truſted, gave the late King an Account of it; who ſaid, That he had not heard of it any other way, and was ſo fully convinced that the Nation had cauſe given them to be jealous, that he himſelf ſet forward the *Act*, and the rather becauſe he ſaw that the *E.* of *S.* did not much like it. The *Parliament* as long as it was known that the *Religion* was ſafe in the *King's* Negative, had not taken any great care of its own Conſtitution, but it ſeemed the beſt Expedient that could be found, for laying the Jealouſies of His late *Majeſty*, and the apprehenſions of the *Succeſſor*, to take ſo much care of the *two Houſes*, that ſo the Dangers with which men were then allarm'd, might ſeem the leſs formidable, upon ſo effectual a ſecurity: and thus all the ſtir that he keeps with *Perjury* and *Impoſture*, ought to make no other impreſſion, but to ſhew the wantonneſs of his own Temper, that meddles ſo boldly with things of which he knew ſo little the true Secret: for here was a Law paſſed of which all made great uſe that

opposed *the Bill of Exclusion*, to Demonstrate to the Nation that there could be no danger of *Popery*, even under a *Prince* of that *Religion*; but as he would turn the matter, it amounts to this, That that Law might be of good use in that season to lay the Jealousies of the Nation, till there were a *Prince* on the Throne of that *Communion*, and then when the turn is served, it must be thrown away, to open the only door that is now shut upon the Re-establishment of that *Religion*. This is but one hint among a great many more of the state of Affairs at the time that this *Act* of the TEST was made, to shew that the *Evidence* given by the *Witnesses*, had no other share in that matter, but that it gave a rise to the other Discoveries; and a fair Opportunity to those who knew the secret of the late *King's* Religion, and the Negotiation at *Dover*, to provide such an effectual Security, as might both save the *Crown*, and secure the *Religion*: and this I am sure some of the *Bishops* knew, who (*to their Honour*) were faithful to both.

The third Reason he gives for Repealing the *Act*, is *the Incompetent Authority of those who Enacted it; for it was of an Ecclesiastical nature*: and here he stretches out his Wings to a Top-flight, and charges it with nothing less than *the Deposing of Christ from his Throne, the disowning, neglecting and affronting his Commission to his Catholick Church, and entrenching upon this sacred Prerogative of his Holy Catholick Church*: and then that he might have occasion to feed his spleen with railing at the whole *Order*, he makes a ridiculous objection of the *Bishops* being present in the *House of Lords*, that he might shew his respect to them, by telling in a Parenthesis *that (to their shame) they had consented to it*. But has this *Scaramuchio* no shame left him? Did the *Parliament* pretend by this *Act* to make any Decision in those two Points of *Transubstantiation* and *Idolatry*? Had not the Convocation defined them both for above an Age before? In the 28*th Article* of our *Church* these words are to be found: *Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ: but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthrows the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions*; and so the *Idolatry* of the Church of *Rome* that was also declared very expressly in the same body of *Articles*: since in the Article 35 the

the *Homilies* are declared "to contain a godly and wholeſom "Doctrine neceſſary for thoſe times: and upon that it is judged "that they ſhould be read in the Churches, by the Miniſters, "diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the "People. And the Second of theſe, which is againſt the *Peril of Idolatry*, aggravates the *Idolatry* of that *Church* in ſo many particulars, and with ſuch ſevere Expreſſions, that thoſe who at firſt made thoſe *Articles*, and all thoſe who do now ſign them, or oblige others to ſign 'em, muſt either believe the *Church* of *Rome* to be guilty of *Idolatry*, or that the *Church* of *England* is the Impudenteſt Society that ever aſſumed the Name of a *Church*, if ſhe propoſes ſuch *Homilies* to the People, in which this Charge is given ſo home, and yet does not believe it her ſelf. A man muſt be of *Bays*'s pitch to riſe up to this degree of Impudence. Upon the whole matter then, theſe points have been already determined, and were a part of our *Doctrine* enacted by *Law*: All that the *Parliament* did, was only to take theſe out of a great many more, that by this *Teſt* it might appear whether they who came into either *Houſe* were of that *Religion* or not; and now let our *Reaſoner* try what he can make out of this; or how he can juſtify the Scandal that he ſo boldly throws upon his Order, *as if they had as much as in them lay deſtroyed the very being of a Chriſtian Church, and had profanely pawned the Biſhop to the Lord: and betrayed the Rights of the Church of* England *as by Law Eſtabliſhed in particular, as well as of the Church Catholick in general.* p. 8, 9. All this ſhews to whom he has pawned both the *Biſhop* and the *Lord*, and ſomething elſe too, which is both *Conſcience* and *Honour*, if he has any left. When one reflects on *two* of the *Biſhops*, that were of that Venerable Body, while this *Act* paſſed, whoſe Memory will be bleſſed in the preſent and following Ages, thoſe two great and good Men that filled the *Sees* of *Cheſter* and *Oxford*, he muſt conclude, that as the World was not worthy of them, ſo certainly their *Sees* were nor worthy of them, ſince they have been plagued with ſuch *Succeſſors*; that becauſe *Bays* delights in figures taken from the *Roman* Empire, I muſt tell him, that ſince *Commodus* ſucceeded to *Marcus Aurelius*, I do not find a more incongrous Succeſſion in Hiſtory. With what ſenſible regret muſt thoſe who were ſo often edified with the Gravity, the Piety, the Generoſity, and Charity of the

late *Bishop* of *Oxford*, look on, when they see such a *Harleguin* in his room.

His Fourth Reason is taken from the *uncertainty and falsehood of the matters contained in the Declaration it self*, pag. 9. for our *Comedian* maintains his Character still, and scorns to speak of Establish'd Laws with any Decency; here he puts in a paragraph, as was formally marked, which belonged to his Second Reason, but it seems some of those to whom he has *pawn'd himself*, thought he had not said enough on that head, and therefore to save blottings, he put it in here. After that, he tells the Gentry, that *Transubstantiation was a Notion belonging to the School-men and Metaphysitians*, and that he may bespeak their Favour, he tells them in very soft words, *That their Learning was more polite and practicable in the Civil Affairs of Human Life, to understand the Rules of Honour, and the Laws of their Countrey, the Practice of Martial Discipline, and the Examples of Great Men in former Ages, and by them to square their Actions in their respective Stations, and the like.* But sure the *Bishop* is here without his *Fiocco*, yet at least for Decency's sake he should have named *Religion and Virtue* among the proper Studies of the Gentry: and if he dares not trust them with the reading the *Scriptures*, yet at least they might read the *Articles of our Church*, and hearken to the *Homilies*; for tho it has been long one of the first Maxims that he has infused into all the *Clergy* that come near him, that the People ought to be brought into an ignorance in matters of *Religion*; that Preaching ought to be laid aside, for a Preaching Church could not stand; that in *Sermons* no points of Doctrine ought to be explained, and that only the Rules of Human Life ought to be told the People; yet after all, they may read the *short Articles*: and tho they were as blindly Implicit as he would wish them to be, yet they would without more Enquiry, find *Transubstantiation* to be condemned in them. Next he Triumphs over the renouncing of it, *pag.* 11. "as "too bold and too prophane an Affront to Almighty God: "when men Abjure a thing which it is morally impossible for "them to understand. And he appeals to the Members of both *Houses* (whom in a fit of Respect he calls *Honourable*, after he had Reproach'd them all he could) "if they have any di-"stinct Idea or Notion in their minds, of the thing they here

"so

"ſo Solemnly Renounce. I do verily believe none of them have any diſtinct Notion of Tranſubſtantiation; and that it is not only *Morally*, but *Phyſically impoſſible for them to underſtand it*: But one would think that this is enough for declaring that they do not *Believe* it, ſince the TEST contains no declaration concerning *Tranſubſtantiation* it ſelf, whether it is a True or a Falſe Doctrine: but only concerning the Belief of him that takes it. And if one can have "no diſtinct Notion of it, ſo "that it is morally impoſſible for him to underſtand it, he may "very well declare *That he does not believe it*. After a Farce of a ſlight Story, he concludes, that *there ſeems to be nothing but a Prophane Levity in the whole matter: and a ſhameleſs abuſe put upon God and Religion, to carry on the Wicked Deſigns of a Rebel-Faction*. For he cannot for his heart, abate an ace of his Inſolence, even when he makes the *King, Lords, and Commons*, the ſubject of his Scorn. Certainly whatever his Character is, it ought not to be expected that a man who attacks all that is Sacred under God and Chriſt, ſhould not be treated as he deſerves: it were a feeble weakneſs, to have ſo great a regard to a Character that is ſo proſtituted by him. He tells us pag 47. "That "all parties agree in the thing: and that they differ only in the "word and manner: and here he makes a long excurſion to ſhew his Learning, in tacking a great many things together, which paſſes with Ignorant Readers as a mark of his great Reading: whereas in this, as well as in all his other Books, in which any ſhews of Learning appear, thoſe who have ſearched into the Fountains, ſee that he does nothing but gather from the Collection of others: only he ſpoils them with the *Levities* of his *Buffoon Stile*, and which is worſe, with his *Diſ-ingenuity*. I leave all theſe matters to be examined, by thoſe who have leiſure for it, and that think him worth their pains: But as for *Tranſubſtantiation*, the words that I have cited from out of our *Articles*, ſhew plainly that it is rejected in our *Church*, ſo that he is bound either to renounce it, or to renounce our *Church*: therefore all that ſhew he makes with our Hiſtory, comes to nothing, ſince whatever he may ſay with relation to *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, it cannot be denied but they were Enacted by the Convocation in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and they have been ever ſince, the Doctrine of our Church: ſo

that

that without going further, this is now our *Doctrine*, and since *Sa. Oxon* carries the Authority of the *Convocation* so high, he will find the Original Record of these *Articles* in *Corpus-Christi Col. ledg* in *Cambridge*, subscribed by the Members of both Houses, in which there is a much more Positive Decision, than is in the Prints, not only against *Transubstantiation*, but against any *Corporal or Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament*: And if he will give himself scope, to rail at those who suppressed this, I leave him to his Liberty. But here is the formal decision of this *Church*, and the pretending that there was no Evidence of *Cranmer*'s Opinion, but in an unknown *Manuscript*, or a Famous *Invisible Manuscript*, p. 49, 47. when there are two Books writ on this matter by *Cranmer* himself, and when all the Disputes in Queen *Mary*'s time, besides those that were both in *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*, in King *Edward*'s time, shew so clearly, That this was his Doctrine, is a strain becoming his Sincerity, that gives this among many other Essays of the Trust that is due to him.

But it seems he thought that Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Stilling fleet*, and Dr. *Burnet*, besides some others whom he does not Name, had not Reputation enough in the World, and therefore he intended to raise it, by using them ill: which is all the effect that his Malice can have. He had set on one of his poor underworkmen, some years ago, to decry the *Manuscript* which Dr. *Stilling fleet* had in his keeping for above Twenty Years, and which Dr. *Burnet* had in his Hands, for many months, and which they shewed to as many as desired to see it, but that had turned so much to his Shame that first vented the Calumny, that it seems he summoned *Sa. Oxon* to appear his second in the Slander: and he whose Brow is of so peculiar a Composition, will needs bring it here, tho ever so impertinently. But I forgive the Hatred that he bears both to that *Manuscript*, and to those *Doctors*, since nothing could be less to *the satisfaction of those for whom he published his Book*, than to see the Mature and Regular Methods in which the *Reformation* was advanced, for the *Bishops* and *Divines* were appointed to Examine all Points with much care, and to bring every man his Opinion in Writing, all which were compared very faithfully, and upor these the Decisions were made.

There

There are many other Papers yet extant which by comparing the Hands ſhew theſe to be Originals: and they were in the *Salisbury* Family probably ever ſince they were at firſt brought together. Their Anceſtor the Lord *Burleigh* who was *Secretary of State* in *Edward* the Sixth's time, gathered them up; and as appears in a Letter under his own Hand yet extant, he had 6 or 7 *Volumes* of them, of which Dr. *Stillingfleet* had only *two*: but Dr. *Burnet* ſaw two more of theſe Volumes.

The *Hiſtory of the Reformation* ſells ſtill ſo well, that I do not believe Mr. *Chiſwell* the Printer of it has made any Preſent to this Reaſoner, to raiſe its Price; for to attack it with ſo much Malice, and yet not to offer one Reaſon to leſſen its Credit, is as effectual a Recommendation, as this Author can give it.

He pretends that Dr. *Burnet's* deſign was, to make *Cranmer* appear a meer *Sacramentarian* as to *Doctrine*, as he had made him appear an *Eraſtian*, as to *Diſcipline*; and he thinks the *vain Man* was flattered into all the Pains he took, that he might give Reputation to the Errours of his Patrons, and that thoſe two *grand Forgeries* are the grand Singularities of his *Hiſtory*: and the main things that gave it Popular Vogue and Reputation with his *Party*. So that were theſe two blind Stories, and the Reaſons depending upon them retrenched, it would be like the ſhaving off *Samſons* Hair, and deſtroy all the ſtrength peculiar to the Hiſtory. But to all this ſtuff I ſhall only ſay. 1. That the Charge of *Forgery* falls back on the Reaſoner, ſince as to *Cranmers* opinion of the *Sacrament*, his own Books and his Diſpute at *Oxford* are ſuch plain Evidences, that none but *Bays* could have queſtioned it; and for his being an *Eraſtian* Dr. *Burnet* had clearly proved that he had changed his Opinion in that Point, ſo that tho he ſhewed that he had been indeed once engaged in thoſe Opinions, yet he proved that he had forſaken them: Let the Reader judg to whom the charge of *Forgery* belongs. 2. Dr. *Burnet* has indeed ſome temptations to *Vanity* now, ſince he is ill uſed by *Bays*; and put in ſuch Company: but I dare ſay if he goes to give him his Character he will never mention ſo ſlight a one as *Vanity*, in which how exceſſive ſo ever he may be, yet it is the ſmalleſt of all his Faults. 3. Theſe two Particulars here mentioned, bear ſo inconſiderable a ſhare in that *Hiſtory*, and have been ſo little minded, that I dare ſay

of

of an hundred that are pleased with that Work, there is not one that will assign these as their Motives.

He censures Dr. *Burnet* for saying *he had often heard it said that the Articles of our Church were framed by* Cranmer *and* Ridley, *as if it were the meanest Trade of an Historian to stoop to hear-says*, p. 55. But the best of all the *Roman Historians* (*Salust. in bello Catil.*) does it, and in this Dr. *Burnet* maintains the Character of a sincere Historian, to say nothing that was not well grounded: and since it has been often said by many Writers, that these *two Bishops* prepared our *Articles*, he finding no particular Evidence of that, delivers it with its own doubtfulness. It is very like *Sa. Oxon* would have been more positive upon half the grounds that Dr. *Burnet* had, but the other chose to write exactly: yet he adds, That it is probable that they penned them: and if either the Dignity of their *Sees*, or of their Persons be considered, the thing will appear reasonable enough. But I do not wonder to see any thing that looks like a modesty of Stile offend our Author. He is next so kind to Dr. *Burnet*, as to offer him some Counsel, (p. 50.) *that he would be well advised to imploy his Pains in writing Lampoons upon the present Princes of Christendom (especially his own) which he delights in most; because it is the worst thing that himself can do; than collecting the Records of former times; for the first will require time and Postage, to pursue his Malice; but the second is easily traced in the Chimney-corner.*

One would think that this period was Writ by Mr. *South*, it is so obscure and ill expressed, that nothing is plain, but the malice of it: but he of all men should be the furthest from reproaching any for Writing *Lampoons*, who has now given so rude a one, on the late *King* and the *Lords* and *Commons*; if bold Railing without either Wit or Decency, deserves that Name. I will only say this further, That if one had the ill nature to write a *Lampoon* on the Government, one of the severest Articles in it, would be, That it seems Writers are hard to be found, when such a *Baboon* is made use of. It is *Lampoon* enough upon the Age, that he is a *Bishop*, but it is downright *Reproach* that he is made the *Champion* of a Cause, which if it is bad of it self, must suffer extreamly by being in such Hands.

And

And thus I think enough is ſaid in Anſwer to his impertinent digreſſion upon *Tranſubſtantiation*; let him renounce the *Article* of our *Church*, and all that he poſſeſſes in Conſequence to his having ſigned it, and then we will argue all the reſt with him upon the ſquare: but as long as he owns that, he is bound likewiſe to own the firſt Branch of the TEST, which is the Renouncing of *Tranſubſtantiation*. In this Diſcourſe he makes his old hatred to *Calvin* and the *Calviniſts* return ſo often, that it appears very Conſpicuouſly. I believe it is ſtronger now than ever, and that for a particular reaſon; when the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* were Married, he was perhaps the only Man in *England* that Expreſſed his uneaſineſs at that Happy Conjunction, in ſo Clowniſh a manner, that when their *Highneſſes* paſt through *Canterbury*, he would not go with the reſt of that Body, to which he was ſo long a Blemiſh, to pay his Duty to them; and when he was asked the Reaſon, he ſaid, *He could have no regard to a Calviniſt Prince.* Now this *Calviniſt Prince* has declared his mind ſo openly and fully againſt the *Repeal of the TEST*, that no doubt this has encreaſed *Bays*'s diſtemper, and heightned his Choler againſt the whole Party.

The ſecond Branch of the TEST is the Declaration made of the *Idolatry committed in the Roman Church*; upon which he tells us, p. 71, 72. That *Idolatry is a Stabbing and Cut-throat Word, and that it is an Inviting and Warranting the Rabble whenever Opportunity favours, to deſtroy the Roman Catholicks*; and here *Bays* will outdo himſelf, ſince this was a Maſter-piece of Service; therefore he makes the taxing the *Church of Rome* with Idolatry, *a piece of Inhumanity that outdoes the Savages of the Canibals themſelves: and damns at once both body and Soul.* He charges Dr. *Stilling fleet*, as the *great Founder of this, and all other Anti-catholick and Anti-chriſtian and uncharitable Principles among us*; *and that the TEST is the Swearing to the Truth of his unlearned and Phanatick Notion of Idolatry*, pag. 130, 135. and the reſult of all is, *That Idolatry made the Plot, and then the Plot made Idolatry, and that the ſame perſons made both.* He has alſo troubled the Reader with a ſecond Impertinence to ſhew his ſecond-hand Reading again upon the Notion of *Idolatry*: but all this falls off with a very ſhort Anſwer, if he is of the *Church of England*, and believes that the *Homilies contain a*

*Godly and Wholesom Doctrine*, all this Clamour against *Idolatry*, turns against himself, for he will find the *Church* of *Rome* charged with this almost an Age before Dr. *Stilling fleet* was Born: and tho perhaps none has ever defended the *Charge*, with so much Learning as he has done, yet no malice less Impudent than his is, could make him the Author of the Accusation. It will be another strain of our Author's modesty, if he will pretend that our Church is not bound to own the Doctrine that is contained in her *Homilies*, he must by this make our Church as Treacherous to her Members, as *Sa. Oxon* is to her; for to deliver this Doctrine to the People, if we believe it not our selves, is to be as impudent as he himself can pretend to be. A Church may believe a Doctrine which she does not think necessary to propose to all her Members: but she were indeed a Society fit for such Pastors as he is, if she could propose to the People a Doctrine, chiefly one of so great Consequence as this is, without she believed it her self. So then he must either Renounce our Church and her *Articles*, or he must Answer all his own Plea for clearing that Church of this Imputation: which is so slight, that it will be no hard matter even for such a trifling Writer as himself is, to do it: As for what he says of Stabbing and Cut-throat Words, he may charge us with such words, if he will, but we know who we may charge with the Deed. I would gladly see the List of all that have been murder'd by these Words, to try if they can be put in the Ballance, either with the *Massacre* of *Ireland*, or that of *Paris*; upon which I must take notice of his slight way of mentioning *Coligny*, and *Faction*, and telling us in plain words, pag. 45. "That they "were Rebels. This is perhaps another instance of his kindness to the *Calvinist Prince*, that is Descended from that Great Man.

If *Idolatry made our Plot*, it was not the first that it made; but his malignity is still like himself, his charging Dr. *Stillingfleet*, who he says is the Author of the Imputation of *Idolatry*, as if he had suborned the *Evidence in our Plot*. I should congratulate to the Doctor the Honour that is done him by the Malice of one who must needs be the object of the hatred of all good Men, if I did not look upon him as so contemptible a person, that his love and his hatred are equally insignificant.

If

If he thinks our Church worſe than Canibals, I wiſh he would be at the pains to go and make a trial, and ſee whether theſe Salvages will uſe him as we have done. I dare ſay they would not Eat him, for they would find ſo much Gall and Choler in him, that the firſt bit would quite diſguſt them.

## *A ſecond Part of the* ENQUIRY *into the Reaſons offered by* Sa. Oxon *for Abrogating the* TEST: *Or an Anſwer to his Plea for* Tranſubſtantiation, *and for Acquitting the* Church *of* Rome *of* IDOLATRY.

THE two ſeemingly contrary Advices of the *Wiſe man*, of *Anſwering a Fool according to his Folly*, and of *not Anſwering him according to his Folly*, are founded on ſuch Excellent Reaſons, that if a man can but rightly diſtinguiſh the Circumſtances, he has a good Warrant for uſing both upon different occaſions. The Reaſon for *Anſwering a Fool according to his Folly*, is, *leſt he be wiſe in his own eyes*; that ſo a haughty and petulant humour may be ſubdued; and that a Man that is both blinded and ſwelled up with ſelf-conceit, may by ſo ſevere a Remedy be brought to know himſelf, and to think as meanly of himſelf as every Body elſe does. But the reaſon againſt *Anſwering a Fool according to his Folly*, is, *leſt one be alſo like unto him*, and ſo let both his mind and ſtile be corrupted by ſo Vicious a Pattern. Since then in a former *Paper*, I was wrought on to let our Author ſee, what a ſevere Treatment he has juſtly drawn on himſelf, and to write in a ſtile a little like his own; I will now let him ſee, that he is the Man in the World, whom I deſire the leaſt to reſemble: and ſo if I writ before in a ſtile that I thought became him, I will now change that into another, which I am ſure becomes my ſelf. In the former, I examined his Arguments for abrogating the *Teſt*, in a ſtrain, which I thought ſomewhat neceſſary for the Informing the Na-

tion aright, in a matter of such Consequence, that the Preservation of our *Religion* is judged to depend upon it, by the Presumptive *Heir* of the Crown: but now, that I am to argue a point, which requires more of a Gravity, than of an acrimony of stile, I will no more consider the *Man*, but the *Matter* in hand.

In a word, "He would persuade the World, that *Transubstantiation* is but a Nicety of the Schools, calculated to the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, and not defined positively in the Church of *Rome*: but that the *Corporal* and *Real Presence* of the substance of Christ's *Body* and *Blood* in the Sacrament, was the Doctrine of the Universal *Church* in the Primitive Times: and that it is at this day the generally received Doctrine by all the different Parties in *Europe*, not only the *Ro. Catholicks* and *Lutherans*, but both by the Churches of *Switzerland* and *France*, and more particularly by the Church of *England*; so that since all that the Church of *Rome* means by Transubstantiation is the *Real Presence*; and since the *Real Presence* is so Universally received, it is a heinous thing to renounce Transubstantiation; for that is in effect the renouncing the *Real Presence*.

This is the whole strength of his Argument, which he fortifies by many Citations, to prove that both the Ancient *Fathers* and the Modern *Reformers*, believed the *Real Presence*; and that the Church of *Rome* believes no more. But to all this I shall offer a few Exceptions.

I. If *Transubstantiation* is only a Philosophical Nicety concerning the *manner* of the *Presence*; where is the hurt of renouncing it? and why are the *Ro. Catholicks* at so much pains to have the *Test* repealed? for it contains nothing against the *Real Presence*; indeed if this Argument has any force, it should rather lead the *Ro. Catholicks* to take the *Test*, since according to the Bp. they do not renounce in it any Article of Faith, but only a bold curiosity of the Schoolmen. Yet after all, it seems they know, that this is contrary to their Doctrine, otherwise they would not venture so much upon a point of an old and decried Philosophy.

II. In

II. In order to the ſtating this matter aright, it is neceſſary to give the true notion of the *Real Preſence*, as it is acknowledged by the *Reformed*. We all know in what ſenſe the Church of *Rome* underſtands it, that in the *Sacrament* there is no *Real Bread and Wine*, but that under the appearance of them, we have the true ſubſtance of *Chriſt's* glorified *Body*. On the other hand, the *Reformed*, when they found the world generally fond of this phraſe; they by the ſame Spirit of Compliance, which our Saviour and his Apoſtles had for the *Jews*, and that the Primitive Church had (perhaps to exceſs) for the *Heathens*, retained the phraſe of *Real Preſence*: but as they gave it ſuch a ſenſe as did fully demonſtrate, that tho they retained a term that had for it a long Preſcription, yet they quite changed its meaning: for they always ſhewed, that the *Body and Blood of Chriſt*, which they believed preſent, was his *Body broken* and his *Blood ſhed*; that is to ſay, his *Body*, not in its *glorified ſtate*, but as it was *crucified*. So that the preſence belonging to Chriſt's *dead Body*, which is not now actually in being, it is only his *Death* that is to be conceived to be preſented to us; and this being the ſenſe that they always give of the *Real Preſence*, the *reality* falls only on that conveyance that is made to us in the Sacrament, by a federal rite of *Chriſt's Death* as our *Sacrifice*. The learned Anſwerer to the *Oxford* Diſcourſes has ſo fully demonſtrated this from the copious explanations which all the *Reformed* give of that phraſe, that one would think it were not poſſible either to miſtake or cavil in ſo clear a point. The *Papiſts* had generally objected to the *Reformers*, that they made the *Sacrament* no more than a bare Commemoratory Feaſt; and ſome few had carried their averſion to that groſs *Preſence* which the Church of *Rome* had ſet up, to another extream to which the People by a principle of Libertiniſm might have been too eaſily carried; if the true Dignity of the Sacrament had not been maintained by expreſſions of great Majeſty: ſo finding that the world was poſſeſſed of the phraſe of the *Real Preſence*, they thought fit to preſerve it, but with an Explanation that was liable to no Ambiguity. Yet it ſeems our *Reformers* in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign had found that the phraſe had more power to carry men to Superſtition, than the explanations given to it, had to retire them from it, and therefore the Con-

Convocation ordered it to be laid aside, tho that order was suppressed out of prudence: and the phrase has been ever since in use among us, of which Dr. *Burnet* has given us a copious account, *Hist. Reform.* 2. Vol. 3. Book.

III. The Difference between the notion of the *Sacrament's* being a meer Commemoratory Feast, and the *Real Presence*, is as great as the value of the Kings head stamped upon a Medal differs from the currant coyn, or the Impression made by the Great Seal upon Wax differs from that which any Carver or Graver may make. The one is a meer *Memorial*, but the other has a sacred badge of Authority in it. The *Paschal Lamb* was not only a *Remembrance* of the Deliverance of the People of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, but a continuance of the *Covenant* that *Moses* made between God and them, which distinguished them from all the Nations round about them, as well as the first *Passover* had distinguished them from the *Egyptians*. Now it were a strange Inference, because the *Lamb* was called the *Lords Passeover*, that is, the *Sacrifice*, upon the sprinkling of whose Blood the Angel *passed over* or *passed* by the Houses of the *Israelites*, when he smote the first-born of the *Egyptians*, to say, that there was a change of the substance of the *Lamb*: or because the Real faith of a Prince is given by his Great Seal, printed on Wax, and affixed to a Parchment, that therefore the substance of the Wax is changed: so it is no less absurd to imagine, that because the Bread and the Wine are said to be the *Body and Blood of Christ* as *broken* and *shed*, that is, his death *Really* and *effectually* offered to us, as our *Sacrifice*, that therefore the substance of the *Bread and Wine* are changed.

And thus upon the whole matter, that which is present in the Sacrament is Christ *Dead*, and since his death was transacted above 1600. years ago, the reality of his presence can be no other than a Real offer of his death made to us in an instituted and federal symbole. I have explained this the more fully, because with this, all the ambiguity in the use of that commonly received phrase, falls off.

IV. As for the *Doctrine* of the Ancient Church, there has been so much said in this *Enquiry*, that a Man cannot hope to add any new discoveries to what has been already found out: therefore I shall only endeavour to bring some of the most Important

portant Obſervations into a narrow compaſs, and to ſet them in a good light: and ſhall firſt offer ſome general *Preſumptions*, to ſhew that it is not like, that this was the *Doctrine* of the Primitive times, and then ſome Poſitive proof of it.

1. It is no ſlight *Preſumption* againſt it, that we do not find the *Fathers* take any pains to anſwer the Objections that do naturally ariſe out of the preſent Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: theſe Objections do not ariſe out of profound ſtudy, or great learning, but from the plain dictates of common ſenſe, which make it hard (to ſay no more) for us to believe, *that a Body can be in more places than one at once, and that it can be in a place after the manner of a ſpirit: that Accidents can be without their ſubject; or that our ſenſes can deceive us in the plaineſt caſes*: We find the *Fathers* explain ſome abſtruſe difficulties that ariſe out of other Myſteries, that were leſs known, and were more Speculative: and while they are thought perhaps to over-do the one, it is a little ſtrange that they ſhould never touch the other: but on the contrary, when they treat of Philoſophical matters, they expreſs themſelves roundly in oppoſition to thoſe conſequences of this Doctrine: whereas ſince this Doctrine has been received, we ſee all the ſpeculations of Philoſophy have been ſo managed, as to keep a reſerve for this Doctrine. So that the uncautious way in which the Fathers handled them (in proof of which, Volumes of quotations can be made) ſhews they had not then received that *Doctrine*, which muſt of neceſſity give them occaſion to write otherwiſe than they did.

2. We find the *Heathens* ſtudied to load the *Chriſtian Religion* with all the heavieſt Imputations that they could give it. They objected to them the believing a God that was born, and that died, and the Reſurrection of the Dead, and many leſſer matters, which ſeemed abſurd to them; they had malice enough to ſeek out every thing that could diſgrace a *Religion* which grew too hard for them: but they never once object this, of *making a God out of a piece of Bread, and then eating him*: if this had been the Doctrine of thoſe Ages, the *Heathens*, chiefly *Celſus*, and *Porphyry*, but above all *Julian*, could not have been ignorant of it. Now it does not ſtand with common ſenſe to think, that thoſe who inſiſt much upon Inconſiderable things, could have paſſed over this, which is both ſo ſenſible and

of

of such Importance, if it had been the received belief of those Ages.

3. It is also of weight, that there were no disputes nor Heresies upon this point during the first Ages; and that none of the *Hereticks* ever objected it to the *Doctors* of the Church. We find they contended about all other Points: now this has so many difficulties in it, that it should seem a little strange, that all mens understandings should have been then so easy and consenting, that this was the single point of the whole Body of Divinity, about which the Church had no dispute for the first *Seven* Centuries. It therefore inclines a Man rather to think, that because there was no disputes concerning it, therefore it was not then broached: since we see plainly, that ever since it was broached in the *West*, it has occasioned lasting Disputes, both with those who could not be brought to believe it, and with one another concerning the several ways of explaining and maintaining it.

4. It is also a strong *Prejudice* against the Antiquity of this Doctrine, that there were none of those rites in the first Ages, which have crept in, in the latter: which were such natural consequences of it, that the belief of the one making way for the other, we may conclude, that where the one were not practised, the other was not believed. I will not mention all the Pomp which the latter Ages have invented to raise the lustre of this *Doctrine*, with which the former Ages were unacquainted. It is enough to observe, that the *Adoration* of the Sacrament, was such a necessary Consequence of this *Doctrine*, that since the Primitive Times know nothing of it, as the *Greek* Church does not to this day, it is perhaps more than a *Presumption*, that they believed it not.

5. But now I come to more Positive and Convincing proofs: and

1. The language of the whole Church is only to be found in the *Liturgies* which are more severely composed than Rhetorical Discourses; and of all the parts of the Office, the *Prayer of Consecration*, is that in which we must hope to find most certainly the *Doctrine* of the Church; we find them in the 4th *Century*, that in the Prayer of Consecration, the *Elements* were said to be the *Types of the Body and Blood of Christ*, as St. *Basil* in-

Informs us from the *Greek Liturgies*; and *the Figure of his Body and Blood*, as St. *Ambroſe* Informs us, from the *Latine Liturgies*: The *Prayer* of *Conſecration*, that is now in the *Canon* of the *Maſs*, is in a great part the ſame with that which is cited by St. *Ambroſe*, but with this Important difference, that inſtead of the words, *which is the Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, that are in the former, there is a petition added in the latter, that *the gifts may be to us the Body and Blood of Chriſt*. If we had ſo many of the Maſſes of the Ancient *Liturgies* left, as to be able to find out the time in which the *Prayer* of *Conſecration* was altered, from what it was in St. *Ambroſe*'s days, to what it is now, this would be no ſmall Article in the *Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation*: but moſt of theſe are loſt; ſince then the Ancient Church could not believe otherwiſe of the Sacrament, than as ſhe expreſſed her ſelf concerning it, in the *Prayer of Conſecration*; It is plain, that her firſt *Doctrine* concerning it, was, that the *Bread and Wine were the Types and the Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*.

2. A ſecond proof is from the Controverſy, that was begun by the *Apollinariſts*, and carried on by the *Eutichians*, whether Chriſt's humanity was ſwallowed up of his Divinity or not? The *Eutichians* made uſe of the General Expreſſions, by which the change in the *Sacrament* ſeemed to be carried ſo far, that the Bread and Wine were ſwallowed up by it; and from this they inferred, that in like manner the human nature of Chriſt was ſwallowed up by his Divinity: but in oppoſition to all this, we find *Chryſoſtome* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, *Ephraim* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, *Gelaſius* the Pope, *Theodoret* a Biſhop in *Aſia* the leſſer, and *Facundus* a Biſhop in *Africk*, all within the compaſs of little more than an Age, agree almoſt in the ſame words, in refuting all this: aſſerting, *that as the human nature in Chriſt remained ſtill the ſame that it was before, notwithſtanding its union with his Divine Nature*; *even ſo the Bread and Wine retained ſtill their former* Nature, Subſtance and Form, and that *they are only ſanctified, not by the change of their* Nature, *but by adding Grace to Nature*. This they do in terms plain, and beyond all exception; and *Theodoret* goes over the matter again and again, in two different Treatiſes; ſo that no matter of fact can appear more plainly, than that the whole Church *Eaſt*

and *West*, and *South*, did in the fifth and sixth *Centuries* believe that the Sanctification of the *Elements* in the Sacrament, did no more destroy their natures, than the union of the two Natures in Christ, did destroy his humane nature.

A Third proof is taken from a practice which I will not offer to justify, how Ancient soever it may have been: It appears indeed in the Ancienteſt *Liturgies* now extant; and is a *Prayer* in which the *Sacrament* is said to be offered up in *honour of the Saint of the day*, to which a petition is added, that it may be *accepted of God by the Interceſſion of the Saint*. This is yet in the *Miſſal*, and is used upon most of the Saints days. Now if the Sacrament was then believed to be the *very Body and Blood of Chriſt*, there is nothing more *crude*, not to say *prophane*, to offer this up to the *honour of a Saint*, and to pray that the Sacrifice of Christ's Body may be accepted of God through the Interceſſion of a *Saint*. Therefore to give any tollerable ſenſe to theſe words, we muſt conclude, that tho theſe Prayers have been continued in the *Roman* Church ſince this Opinion prevailed, yet they were never made in an Age in which it was received. The only meaning that can be given to theſe words, is, that they made the *Saints days*, days of Communion, as well as the *Sundays* were; and upon that they prayed that the Sacrament which they received that day, to do the more honour to the Memory of the Saint, might be recommended to the Divine Acceptance by the Interceſſion of the Saint: ſo that this Superſtitious practice ſhews plainly, that the *Church* had not, even when it began, received the *Doctrine* of the change of the Elements into the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

I will not purſue the proof of this point further, nor will I enter into a particular recital of the Sayings of the *Fathers* upon this ſubject; which would carry me far: And it is done ſo copiouſly by others, that I had rather refer my Reader to them, than offer him a lean abridgement of their labours.

I ſhall only add, that the *Preſumptions* and Proofs that I have offered are much more to be valued, than the Pious and Rhetorical Figures by which many of the *Fathers* have ſet forth the manner of Chriſt's *Preſence* in the Sacrament. One thing is plain, that in moſt of them, they repreſent Chriſt preſent in his dead and crucified ſtate, which appears moſt eminently in S. *Chryſoſtom*;

*ſtom*; ſo that this agreed with that notion of a *Real Preſence*, that was formerly explained. Men that have at the ſame time, all the heat in their Imaginations that Eloquence can raiſe, and all the fervour in their heart which devotion can inſpire, are ſeldom ſo correct in their phraſes and figures, as not to need ſome allowances: therefore one plain proof of their Opinions from their Reaſonings when in cold blood, ought to be of much more weight than all their Tranſports and Amplifications.

From this General view of the State of the *Church* during the firſt *Centuries*, I come next to conſider the ſteps of the change which was afterwards made. I will not offer to trace out that Hiſtory, which Mr. *Larrogue* has done Copiouſly, whom I the rather mention, becauſe he is put in *Engliſh*. I ſhall only obſerve, that by reaſon of the high expreſſions which were uſed upon the occaſion of the *Eutichean* Controverſy, formerly mentioned, by which the Sanctification of the *Elements* was compared to the Union of the humane nature of Chriſt with his Divinity, a great ſtep was made to all that followed: during the Diſpute concerning *Images*, thoſe who oppoſed the worſhip of them ſaid, according to all the Ancient Liturgies, that they indeed acknowledged one *Image* of Chriſt, which was the *Sacrament*; thoſe who promoted that piece of ſuperſtition (for I refer the calling it *Idolatry* to its proper place) had the Impudence to deny that it had ever been called the *Image of Chriſt's Body and Blood:* and ſaid, that it was really his *Body and Blood*. We will not much Diſpute concerning an Age, in which the World ſeemed mad with a zeal for the Worſhip of *Images*; and in which *Rebellion*, and the Depoſing of *Princes* upon the pretence of Hereſy, began to be put in practice: ſuch times as theſe, we willingly yield up to our Adverſaries. Yet *Damaſcene*, and the *Greek* Church after him, carried this matter no further than to aſſert an Aſſumption of the *Elements*, into an union with the *Body and Blood of Chriſt*. But when the Monk of *Corbie* began to carry the matter yet further, and to ſay, that the *Elements* were changed into the *very body of Chriſt that was born of the Virgin*, we find all the great men of that Age, both in *France*, *Germany*, and *England*, writ againſt him; and he himſelf owns that he was looked upon as an Innovator.

Thoſe who writ againſt him, chiefly *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Bertram*, or *Ratramne*, did ſo plainly aſſert the Ancient opinion of the Sacraments being the *Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, that we cannot expreſs our ſelves more formally than they did: and from thence it was that our *Saxon* Homily on *Eaſter* Day was ſo expreſs in this point. Yet the War and the *Northern* Invaſions that followed, put the World into ſo much diſorder, that all Diſputes were ſoon forgot, and that in the Eleventh *Century*, this Opinion which had ſo many Partiſans in the Ninth, was generally decried, and much abandoned.

VI. But with relation to thoſe Ages in which it was received, ſome obſervations occur ſo readily, to every one that knows Hiſtory, that it is only for the ſake of the more Ignorant, that I make them.

1. They were times of ſo much Ignorance, that it is ſcarce conceivable to any but to thoſe who have laboured a little in reading the productions of thoſe Ages; which is the drieſt piece of ſtudy I know: The ſtile in which they writ, and their way of arguing, and explaining Scripture, are all of a piece, both matter and form are equally barbarous. Now in ſuch times, as the Ignorant populace were eaſily miſled, ſo there is ſomewhat in Incredible Stories and Opinions, that makes them paſs as eaſily, as men are apt to fancy they ſee Sprights in the Night: nay, the more of Myſtery and Darkneſs that there is in any Opinion, ſuch times are apt to cheriſh it the more for that very reaſon.

2. Thoſe were Ages in which the whole Eccleſiaſtical *Order* had entred into ſuch Conſpiracies againſt the *State*, which were managed and ſet on by ſuch vigour by the *Popes*, that every Opinion which tended to render the perſons of Churchmen *Sacred*, and to raiſe their Character, was likely to receive the beſt entertainment, and the greateſt encouragement poſſible. Nothing could ſo ſecure the perſons of *Prieſts*, and render them ſo conſiderable, as to believe *that they made their God*: and in ſuch Ages no Armour was of ſo ſure a proof as for a Prieſt to take his God in his hands.

Now it is known, that as P. *Gregory* the 7th, who condemned *Berengarius*, laid the foundations of the Eccleſiaſtical Empire,

pire, by eſtabliſhing the Depoſing Power; ſo P. *Innocent* the 3*d*. who got *Tranſubſtantiation* to be decreed in the Fourth Council of the *Lateran*, ſeemed to have compleated the project, by the Addition made to the Depoſing Power, of transferring the Dominions of the Depoſed *Prince* to whom he pleaſed. Since before this, the Dominions muſt have gone to the next Heirs of the Depoſed Prince. It is then ſo plain, that the *Doctrine* of *Tranſubſtantiation*, was ſo ſuitable to the advancing of thoſe ends, that it had been a wonder indeed, if it being once ſet on foot, it had not been eſtabliſhed in ſuch times.

3. Thoſe Ages were ſo corrupt, and more particularly the *Clergy*, and chiefly the *Popes*, were by the Confeſſion of all Writers ſo exceſſively vicious, that ſuch men could have no regard to truth in any of their Deciſions. Intereſt muſt have carried all other things before it, with ſuch *Popes*, who, according to the Hiſtorians of their own Communion, were perhaps the worſt men that ever lived. Their Vices were ſo crying, that nothing but the credit that is due to the Writers of their own time, and their own Church, could determine us to believe them.

4. As the Ignorance and Vices of thoſe times derogate juſtly from all the credit that is due to them; ſo the Cruelty which followed their Deciſions, and which was Imployed in the Execution of them, makes it appear rather a ſtranger thing that ſo many oppoſed them, than that ſo many ſubmitted to them. When *Inquiſitors* or *Dragoons* manage an Argument, how *ſtrong ſoever the Spirit* may be, in oppoſing it, it is certain the *Fleſh will be weak*, and will ply eaſily. When *Princes* were threatned with Depoſition, and *Hereticks* with Extirpation, and when both were executed with ſo much rigour, the ſucceſs of all the Doctrines that were eſtabliſhed in thoſe days, ought to make no Impreſſion on us, in its favour.

VII. It is no leſs plain that there was a great and vigorous oppoſition made to every ſtep of the progreſs of this Doctrine: When the *Eutichians* firſt made uſe of it, the greateſt men of that Age ſet themſelves againſt it. When the Worſhippers of *Images* did afterwards deny that the *Sacrament* was the *Image of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, a General *Council* in the *Eaſt* aſſerted, according to the Ancient *Liturgies*, the Contrary *Propoſition*.

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When *Paschase Radbert* set on Foot the *Corporal Presence*, in the *West*, all the great men of the Age writ against him. *Berenger* was likewise highly esteemed, and had many secret Followers, when this Doctrine was first decreed: and ever since the time of the *Council* of the *Lateran*, that *Transubstantiation* was established, there have been whole bodies of men that have opposed it, and that have fallen as Sacrifices to the Rages of the Inquisitors. And by the Processes of those of *Tholouse*, of which I have seen the Original *Records*, for the space of Twenty years, it appears that as *Transubstantiation* was the Article upon which they were always chiefly examined, so it was that which many of them did the most constantly deny; so far were they on both sides from looking on it only as an Explanation of the *Real Presence*.

VIII. The Novelty of this *Doctrine* appears plainly by the strange work that the *Schools* have made with it, since they got it among them, both in their Philosophy and Divinity, and by the many different methods that they took for explaining it, till they had licked it into the shape in which it is now: which is as plain an Evidence of the Novelty of the Doctrine as can be imagined. The Learned Mr. *Alix* has given us a clear Deduction of all that confusion into which it has cast the *Schoolmen*, and the many various Methods that they fell on for maintaining it. *First*, they thought the Body of Christ was broken by the Teeth of the Faithful: then that appearing absurd, and subjecting our Saviour to new sufferings; the Doctrine of a Bodies being in a place after the manner of a spirit, was set up. And as to the change, some thought that the Matter of Bread remained, but that it was united to the Body of Christ, as nourishment is digested into our Bodies; others thought that the *Form* of Bread remained, the *Matter* only being changed: And some thought, that the *Bread* was only withdrawn to give place to the *Body* of Christ, whereas others thought it was Annihilated. While the better Judges had always an eye either to a *Consubstantiation*, or to such an Assumption of the Bread and Wine by the Eternal Word, as made the Sacrament in some sense his *Body* indeed; but not that Body which is now in Heaven. All these different Opinions, in which the *Schoolmen* were divided, even after the Decision made by Pope *Innocent*,

*cent*, in the Council of the *Lateran*, ſhew, that the *Doctrine*, being a Novelty, men did not yet know how to mould or form it: but in proceſs of time the whole Philoſophy was ſo digeſted, as to prepare all *Scholars* in their firſt formation to receive it the more eaſily. And in our Age, in which that Philoſophy has loſt its credit, what pains do they take to ſuppreſs the *New* Philoſophy, as ſeeing that it cannot be ſo eaſily ſubdued to ſupport this Doctrine as the *Old* one was. And it is no unpleaſant thing to ſee the Shifts to which the Partiſans of the *Carteſian* Philoſophy are driven to explain themſelves; which are indeed ſo very ridiculous, that one can hardly think that thoſe who make uſe of them, believe them: for they are plainly rather Tricks and Excuſes, than Anſwers.

IX. No man can deny, that *Tranſubſtantiation* is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, but he that will diſpute the Authority of the Councils of the *Lateran* and *Trent*: Now tho ſome have done the firſt avowedly, yet as their number is ſmall, and their Opinion decried; ſo for the Council of *Trent*, tho I have known ſome of that Communion, who do not look upon it as a *General Council*, and tho it is not at all received in *France*, neither as to Doctrine nor Diſcipline, yet the contrary opinion is ſo univerſally received, that they who think otherwiſe, dare not ſpeak out; and ſo give their Opinion as a ſecret, which they truſt in confidence, rather than as a Doctrine which they will own. But ſetting aſide the Authority of theſe *Councils*, the common Reſolution of Faith in the Church of *Rome* being *Tradition*, it cannot be denied, that the conſtant and general Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, theſe laſt Five hundred years, has been in favour of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and that is witneſſed by all the Evidences by which it is poſſible to know *Tradition*. The Writings of Learned Men, the Sermons of Preachers, the Proceedings of Tribunals, the Deciſions of Councils, that if they were not *general*, were yet very numerous, and above all by the many Authentical Declarations that *Popes* have made in this matter. So that either *Tradition* is to be for ever rejected as a falſe conveyance, or this is the received *Doctrine* of the Church of *Rome*, from which She can never depart, without giving up both her *Infallibility*, and the Authority of *Tradition*.

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X. There is not any one point, in which all the *Reformed Churches* do more unanimously agree, than in the rejecting of *Transubstantiation*: as appears both by the Harmony of their Confessions, and by the current of all the Reformed VVriters. And for the *Real Presence*, tho the *Lutherans* explain it by a *Consubstantiation*, and the rest of the *Reformed*, by a Reality of Virtue and Efficacy, and a Presence of Christ as crucified; yet all of them have taken much pains to shew, that in what sense soever they meant it, they were still far enough from *Transubstantiation*. This demonstrates the wisdom of our *Legislators*, in singling out this to be the sole point of the *Test* for Imployments; since it is perhaps the only point in Controversy, in which the whole Church of *Rome* holds the Affirmative, and the whole *Reformed* hold the Negative. And it is as certain, that *Transubstantiation* is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, as that it is rejected by the Church of *England*; it being by name condemned in our *Articles*.

And thus I hope the whole *Plea* of our Author in favour of *Transubstantiation* is overthrown, in all its three Branches, which relate to the Doctrine of the *Primitive Church*, the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as well as of the other *Reformed* Churches. I have not loaded this Paper with Quotations; because I intended to be short: but I am ready to make good all the matters of fact asserted in it, under the highest pains of Infamy if I fail in the performance: and besides, the more Voluminous works that have been writ on this subject, such as *Albertine*'s, *Claud*'s Answer to Mr. *Arnaud*, and F. *Nonet*, *Larrogue*'s History of the *Eucharist*, there have been so many learned Discourses written of late on this Subject, and in particular two Answers to the Bishops *Book*, that if it had not been thought expedient that I should have cast the whole matter into a short Paper, I should not have judged it necessary to trouble the world with more Discourses on a subject that seems exhausted. I will add no more, but that by the next I will give another Paper of the same Bulk upon the *Idolatry of the Church of* Rome.

*A Con-*

# A *Continuation of the Second Part of the* ENQUIRY *into the Reaſons offered by* Sa. Oxon *for Abrogating the* TEST: *Relating to the* Idolatry *of the* Church *of* Rome.

THE words of the *Teſt*, that belong to this Point, are theſe, *The Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin* Mary, *or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, as they are now uſed in the Church of* Rome, *are Superſtitious and Idolatrous*: Upon which our Author faſtens this Cenſure, "That ſince by this the "Church of *Rome* is charged with *Idolatry*, which both forfeits "Mens Lives here, and their Salvation hereafter, according "to the expreſs words of Scripture, it is a damnable piece of "Cruelty and Uncharitableneſs to load them with this Charge, "if they are not guilty of it; and upon this he goes to clear "them of it, not only in the two Articles mentioned in the *Teſt*, "the Worſhip of *Saints*, and the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, but "that his *Apology* might be compleat, he takes in, and indeed "inſiſts chiefly on the Worſhip of *Images*, tho that is not at "all mentioned in the *Teſt*. He brings a great many Quota- "tions out of the *Old Teſtament*, to ſhew the *Idolatry* prohibited "in it, was the worſhipping of the Sun, Moon and Stars, "or the making an *Image* to reſemble the Divine Eſſence, "upon which he produces alſo ſome other Authorities: And in this conſiſts the Subſtance of his *Plea* for the Church of *Rome*.

But upon all this he ought to have retracted both the Licenſe that himſelf gave ſome years ago, to Dr. *Stillingfleets* Book *Of the Idolatry of the Church of* Rome; and his own haſty Aſſertion in condemning both Turk *and* Papiſt *as guilty of Idolatry; the one for worſhipping a leud Impoſtor, and the other for worſhipping a ſenſeleſs piece of Matter.* It ſeems he is now convinced, that the latter part of this Charge that falls on *Papiſts*, was as falſe, as the former that falls on the *Turks*, certianly is; for Def. of his Eccl. Pol. p.285,286

they never worshipped *Mahomet*, but hold him only in high Reverence, as an extraordinary Prophet, as the *Jews* do *Moses*. It is very like that, if the *Turks* had taken *Vienna*, he would have retracted that, as he has now in effect done the other; for I believe he is in the same Disposition to reconcile himself to the *Mufti*, and the *Pope*; but the *Ottoman* Empire is now as low, as *Popery* is high; so he will brave the *Turk* still to his Teeth, tho he did him wrong, and will humble himself to the *Papist*, tho he did him nothing but right; but now I take leave of the Man, and will confine my self severely to the matter that is before me: And

I. How guilty soever the Church of *Rome* is of *Idolatry*, yet the *Test* does not plainly assert that; for there is as great a difference between *Idolatrous* and *Idolatry*, as there is in Law, between what is *Treasonable*, and what is *Treason*. The one imports only a worship that is conformable to *Idolatry*, and that has a tendency to it; whereas the other is the plain Sin it self; there is also a great deal of difference between what *is now used in that Church*, and the Explanations that some of their Doctors give of that usage. We are to take the usage of the Church of *Rome* from her Publick *Offices*, and her authorised *Practices*; so that if *these* have a Conformity to *Idolatry*, and a tendency to it, then the words of the *Test* are justified, what Sense soever some learned Men among them may put on these *Offices* and *Practices*; therefore the *Test* may be well maintained, even tho we should acknowledg that the Church of *Rome* was not guilty of *Idolatry*.

II. If *Idolatry* was a Crime punishable by *Death* under the *Old Testament*, that does not at all concern us; nor does the *Charge* of *Idolatry* authorise the People to kill all *Idolaters*: unless our Author can prove, that we believe our selves to be under all the Political and Judiciary Precepts of the *Law* of *Moses*; and even among the *Jews* the Execution of that severe Law, belonging either to the Magistrate, or to some authorised and inspired Persons, who as a Zealot might execute the Law, when the Magistrate was wanting to his Duty. So that this was writ invidiously, only as it seems to inflame the *Papists* the more against us. But the same *Calvinist Princes* that

that has expressed so just an Aversion to the repealing the *Test*, has at the same time shewed so merciful an Inclination towards the *Roman Catholicks*, that of all the Reproaches in the World, one that intended to plead for that Religion ought to have avoided the mentioning of Blood or Cruelty with the greatest care.

III. It is true, we cannot help believing that Idolatry is a damnable Sin, that shuts Men out of the Kingdom of Heaven; and if every Sin in which a Man dies without Repentance, does it, much more this, which is one of the greatest of all Sins. But yet after all, there is Mercy for *Sins of Ignorance*, upon Mens general Repentance; and therefore, since God alone knows the degrees of Mens Knowledg, and of their Ignorance, and how far it is either *Affected* on the one hand, or *Invincible* on the other; we do not take upon us to enter into Gods Secrets, or to Judg of the Salvation or Damnation of particular Persons; nor must we be byassed in our Enquiry into the nature of any Sin, either by a fond regard to the State of our Ancestors, or by the due respect that we owe to those who are over us in Civil Matters. In this Case, things are what God has declared them to be: we can neither make them better nor worse than he has made them; and we are only to Judg of things, leaving Persons to the merciful, as well as the just and dreadful Judgment of God.

IV. All the stir that our Author keeps with the examining of the *Idolatry* committed by the *Jews*, under the *Old Testament*, supposing it were all true, will serve no more for acquitting the Church of *Rome*, than a Plea would avail a Criminal, who were arraigned of *High Treason* for Coyning Money, or for Counterfeiting the Kings Seal, in which one should set forth that *High Treason* was the *Murdering the King, or the levying War against him*; and that therefore the Criminal who was guilty of neither of these two, ought to be acquitted. *Idolatry* as well as *Treason*, is a comprehensive Notion, and has many different Branches; so that tho the worshipping the Host of Heaven, or the worshipping an Image as a Resemblance of the Divinity, may be acknowledged to be the highest degrees of *Idolatry*, yet many other Corruptions in the worship of God are justly reducible to it, and may be termed not only *Idolatrous*, but *Idolatry* it self.

V. Our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount has ſhewed us how many ſins are reducible to the Second Table of the Law, beſides thoſe of *Murder*, *Adultery*, *&c.* that are expreſly named in it: and tho the *Jews* in that time having delivered themſelves entirely from the ſin of *Idolatry*, to which their Fathers were ſo prone, gave him no occaſion of commenting on the firſt and ſecond *Commandment*; yet by the parity of things we may conclude, that many ſins are reducible to them, beſides thoſe that are expreſly named. And tho we have not ſo compleat a Hiſtory of the *Idolatry* of the Neighbouring Nations to *Judea*, before the Captivity; yet we do certainly know what was the *Idolatry* of which the *Greeks* and *Romans* were guilty when the *New Teſtament* was writ. And tho the greateſt part of the *New Teſtament* is written chiefly with relation to the *Jews*, whoſe freedom from *Idolatry* gave no occaſion to treat of it; yet in thoſe few paſſages which relate to the Heathen *Idolatry* then on foot, the holy Writers retain the ſame phraſes and ſtile, that were uſed in the *Old Teſtament*: which gives us juſt reaſon to believe, that the *Idolatry* was upon the matter and in its main ſtrokes the ſame under both: and if ſo, then we have a door opened to us to diſcover all our Author's falſe Reaſonings: and upon this diſcovery we ſhall find that all the Inſpired Writers charged the Heathen Worſhip with *Idolatry*, not ſo much with relation to the gloſſes that Philoſophers and other political men might put on their *Rites*, but with relation to the practice in it ſelf.

VI. But ſince *Idolatry* is a ſin againſt a moral and unchangeable Law, let us ſtate the True Notion of the right VVorſhip of God, and by Conſequence of *Idolatry* (tho this is done with that exactneſs by the worthy *Maſter of the Temple*, that it ſhould make a man afraid to come after him.) Our Ideas of God, and the homage of VVorſhip and Service that we offer up purſuant to theſe, are not only to be conſidered as they are juſt thoughts of God, and Acts ſuitable to thoſe thoughts; but as they are Ideas that tend both to elevate and purifie our own natures: for the thoughts of God are the ſeeds of all Truth and Virtue in us, which being deeply rooted in us, make us become *conformable to the Divine Nature*. So that the ſin of *Idolatry* conſiſts in this, that our Ideas of God being corrupted, he

he is either defrauded of that honour, which, tho due to him, is transferred to another; or is diſhonoured by a worſhip that is unſuitable to his nature; and we alſo by forming wrong Ideas of the object of our VVorſhip, become corrupted by them. Nothing raiſes the ſoul of Man more than ſublime thoughts of God's Greatneſs and Glory: and nothing perfects it more, than juſt notions of his VViſdom and Goodneſs. On the contrary, nothing debaſes our natures more, than the offering our VVorſhip and Service to a Being that is low and unworthy of it: or the depreſſing the ſupream Being in our thoughts or worſhip, to ſomewhat that is like our ſelves, or perhaps worſe. Therefore the deſign of true Religion being the forming in us ſuch notions as may exalt and ſanctify our natures, as well as the raiſing a Tribute to the Author of our being, that is in ſome ſort worthy of him, the ſin of *Idolatry* is upon this account chiefly forbidden in Scripture, becauſe it corrupts our Ideas of God, and by a natural tendency this muſt likewiſe corrupt our natures, when we either raiſe up an *Idol* ſo far in our thoughts, as to fancy it a *God*, or depreſs *God* ſo far as to make him an *Idol*; for theſe two Species of *Idolatry*, have both the ſame effect on us. And as a wound in a Man's vitals, is much more deſtructive than any, how deep and dangerous ſoever, that is in his limbs; ſince it is poſſible for him to recover of the one, but not of the other; ſo *Idolatry* corrupts Religion in its ſource. Thus *Idolatry* in its moral and unchangeable nature is the Honouring any Creature as a God, or the Imagining that God is ſuch a being as the other Creatures are: and this had been a ſin, tho no Law againſt it had ever been given to mankind, but the light and law of nature.

VII. But after all this, there are different degrees in this ſin; for the true notion of God being this, that he comprehends all perfections in his eſſence; the aſcribing all theſe to a Creature, is the higheſt degree of *Idolatry*: but the aſcribing any one of theſe Infinite perfections, (or which is all one with relation to our actions) the doing any thing which *Imports*, or is underſtood to *Import* it, is likewiſe *Idolatry*, tho of a lower degree of guilt; ſo likewiſe the Imagining that the true God is no other than as an Idol repreſents him to be, is the higheſt degree of the other ſpecies of *Idolatry*; but the conceiving him as having a

Body

Body in which his Eternal mind dwells, or fancying that any ſtrange Virtue from him dwells in any Body to ſuch a degree, as to make that Body the proper object of Worſhip, unleſs he has aſſured us that he is really united to that Body, and dwells in it, which was the caſe of the *Cloud of Glory* under the *Old Teſtament*, and much more of the *humane nature of Chriſt* under the *New*; this is likewiſe *Idolatry*. For in all theſe, it is plain that the true Ideas of *God*, and the Principles of Religion are corrupted.

VIII. There are two principles in the nature of man that make him very apt to fall into *Idolatry*, either inward or outward. The firſt is the weakneſs of moſt peoples minds, which are ſo ſunk into groſs phantaſms and ſenſible objects, that they are ſcarce capable to raiſe their thoughts to pure and ſpiritual Ideas: and therefore they are apt either to forget Religion quite, or to entertain it by objects that are viſible and ſenſible: the other is, that mens appetites and paſſions being for the moſt part too ſtrong for them, and theſe not being reconcilable to the true Ideas of a pure and Spiritual Eſſence, they are eaſily diſpoſed to embrace ſuch notions of God as may live more peaceably with their vices: and ſo they hope by a profuſion of expence and honour, or of fury and rage, which they imploy in the Worſhip of an Imaginary Deity, to purchaſe their pardons, and to compenſate for their other crimes, if not to authoriſe them.

Theſe two principles, that are ſo rooted in our frail and corrupt natures, being wrought on by the craft and authority of ambitious and covetous men, who are never wanting in all Ages and Nations, have brought forth all that *Idolatry*, that has appeared in ſo many different ſhapes up and down the World, and has been diverſified according to the various tempers, accidents and Conſtitutions of the ſeveral Nations and Ages of the World.

IX. I now come to examine the beginnings of *Idolatry*, as they are repreſented to us in the Scripture, in which it will appear, that our Authors account of it ſhews him guilty, either of great Ignorance, or of that which is worſe. "He pre-
"tends that the firſt plain Intimation, that we have of it in *Pa-*
"*leſtine*, is when *Jacob* after his converſation with the *Schiche-*
"*mites*

"*mites*, commanded his family to put away their *Strange Gods*. VVhereas we have an earlier and more particular account of thoſe *Strange Gods* in the ſame Book of *Geneſis*, *Chap.* 31. where when *Jacob* fled away from *Laban*, it is ſaid, Verſ. 19. that *Rachel* ſtole her fathers *Images* or *Teraphim*: and theſe are afterwards called by *Laban* his *Gods*, verſ. 30. and theſe very *Images* are called by *Joſhua* 24. 2. *Strange Gods*: So that the *Strange Gods*, from which *Jacob* cleanſed his family, *Gen.* 35. 2. were no other than the *Teraphim*; and that in the *Teraphim*, we are to ſeek for the true Original of *Idolatry*, and for the ſenſe of the phraſe of *other Gods*, or *Strange Gods*, which is indeed the true key to this whole matter.

Theſe were little ſtatues, ſuch as the *Dii lares* or *Penates* were afterwards among the *Romans*, or the *Pagods* now in the *Eaſt*, in which it was believed, that there was ſuch a divine vertue ſhut up, that the *Idolaters* expected protection from them. And as people in all times are apt to truſt to *Charms*, ſo thoſe who pretended to chain down the Divine Influences to thoſe *Images*, had here a great occaſion given them to deceive the world; of this ſort was the *Palladium* of *Troy*, and the *Ancelle* of *Rome*. And this gave the riſe to all the cheats of *Teleſmes* and *Taliſmans* that came afterwards. Theſe were of different figures: and ſince our Author confeſſes p. 124. that *Cherubim* and *Teraphim* are ſometimes uſed promiſcuouſly for one another, it is probable that the figure of both was the ſame; and ſince it is plain from *Ezekiel* that the *Cherubim* reſembled a Calf (Compare *Ezek.* 1. 10. with *chap.* 10. 14. where what is called in the firſt the face of an *Ox*, is called in the other the face of a *Cherub*) from hence it is probable that the *Teraphim*, or at leaſt ſome of them, were of the ſame figure. In theſe it was alſo believed, that there were different degrees of Charms; ſome were believed ſtronger than others: So that probably *Pharaoh* thought that *Moſes* and *Aaron* had a *Teraphim* of greater virtue than his *Magicians* had, which is the cleareſt account that I know of his hardening his heart againſt ſo many Miracles: and this alſo ſeems to be the firſt occaſion of the phraſe of the *Gods of the ſeveral Nations*, and of ſome being ſtronger than other: that is, the *Teraphim* of the one were believed to have a higher degree of enchantment in them, than the others had.

This

This then leads us to the right Notion of *Aaron's Golden Calf*, and of the terms of *graven* or *carved Images* in the Second Commandment, and even of the *other Gods* in the firſt Commandment: for we have ſeen that both in the Stile of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, the *Images* were thoſe *Teraphim*, which they alſo called ſtrange *Gods*. When the *Iſraelites* thought that *Moſes* had forſaken them, they came to *Aaron* deſiring him to make them *gods*, that is, *Teraphims*; yet they preſcribed no form to him, but left that wholly to him; and ſo the dream of their fondneſs of the *Egyptian Idolatry* vaniſhes; for it was *Aarons* choice that made it a *Calf*; perhaps he had ſeen the *Divine Glory*, as a Cloud between the *Cherubims* when he went up into the Mountain, *Exod.* 24. 9, 10. For a *Pattern* being ſhewed to *Moſes* of the Tabernacle that he was to make; it is probable, *Aaron* ſaw that likewiſe, and this might diſpoſe him to give them a *Seraphim* in that Figure; this is alſo the moſt probable account both of the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*, ſet up by *Jeroboam*, and alſo of the *Iſraelites* worſhipping the *Ephod* that *Gideon* made, *Judg.* 8. 27. of the Idolatry of *Micah* and the *Danites*, who robbed him, *Judg.* 17. 18. and of the *Iſraelites* offering Incenſe to the Brazen Serpent, 2 *Kings* 18. 4. which ſeemed to have all the Solemnities of a *Teraphim* in it; ſo that it is plain, the greateſt part of the *Idolatry* under the *Old Teſtament*, was the worſhip of the *Teraphim*.

X. But to compleat this Argument with relation to the preſent Point, it is no leſs plain, that the true *Jehovah* was Worſhipped in thoſe *Teraphim*. To begin with the firſt. It is clear that *Laban* in the Covenant that he made with *Jacob*, appeals not only to the *God of Abraham*, *Gen.* 31. 53. but likewiſe to *Jehovah*, *v.* 49. for tho that name was not then known, yet *Moſes* by uſing it on that occaſion, ſhews us plainly, that *Laban* was a Worſhipper of the true God. *Aaron* ſhews the ſame by intimating that Feaſt, which he appointed to *Jehovah*, *Exod.* 32. 5. (which our Author thought not fit to mention) the People alſo by calling theſe, *v.* 4. *the Gods that brought them out of Egypt*, ſhew that they had no thoughts of the *Egyptian Idolatry*; but they believed that *Moſes* had carried away the *Teraphim*, in the vertue of which it ſeems they fancied, that he had wrought his Miracles; and that *Aaron*, who they believed knew

knew the Secret, had made them new ones; and this is the moſt probable account of their joy in celebrating that Feaſt. And as for *Jeroboam*, the caſe ſeems to be plainly the ſame; he made the People believe that the *Teraphim*, which he gave them in *Dan* and *Bethel*, were as good as thoſe that were at *Jeruſalem*. For as his deſign was no other than to hinder their going thither, 1 *Kings* 12. 27. ſo it is not likely, that either he would, or durſt venture upon a total Change of their Religion; or that it could have paſſed ſo eaſily with the People; whereas the other had nothing extraordinary in it. It is alſo plain, that as *Jeroboam* called the Calves the *Gods that brought them out of Egypt*, *v.* 28. ſo he ſtill acknowledged the true *Jehovah*; for the Prophets both true and falſe in his time propheſied in the name of *Jehovah*, 1 *Kings* 13. 2, 18, 26. and when his Son was Sick, he ſent his Wife to the Prophet *Jehovah*, *c.* 14. The Story of the new *Idolatry*, that *Achab* ſet up of the *Baalim*, ſhews alſo plainly, that the old Worſhippers of the *Calves*, adhered to the true *Jehovah*; for *Elijah* ſtates the matter, as if the Nation had been divided between *Jehovah* and *Baal*, 1 *Kings* 18. 21, 39. And the whole Story of *Jehu* confirms this, 2 *Kings* 9. 6, 12, 36. he was *Anointed King* in the Name of *Jehovah*; and as ſoon as the Captains that were with him, knew this, they acknowledged him *their King*; he likewiſe ſpeaking of the Fact of the Men of *Samaria*, cites the Authority of *Jehovah*, 2 *Kings* 10 10, 16, 29. which ſhews that the People acknowledged it ſtill: and he called his Zeal againſt the worſhip of *Baal*, his Zeal for *Jehovah*, and yet, both he and his Party worſhipped the *Calves*. It is no leſs clear that *Micah*, who called the *Teraphim* his *Gods*, *Judges* 18. 24. was a Worſhipper of the true *Jehovah*, *Judges* 17. 13. and there is little reaſon to doubt that this was the caſe of *Gideons Ephod*, and of the *Brazen Serpent*. It were needleſs to go about the proving, that all theſe corrupt ways of worſhip were *Idolatrous*; the *Calf* is expreſly called an *Idol* by St. *Stephen*, *Acts* 7. 41. and the thing is ſo plain, that it is denied by none that I know of; ſo here we have a Species of *Idolatry* plainly ſet forth in Scripture, in which the *true God* was worſhipped in an *Image*; and I fancy it is ſcarce neceſſary to inform the Reader, that wherever he finds LORD in Capitals in the *Engliſh* Bible, it is for *Jehovah* in the *Hebrew*.

XI. It is very true that the great and prevailing *Idolatry* of all the *East* grew to be the worship of the *Host of Heaven*, which seems to have risen very naturally out of the other *Idolatry* of the *Teraphim*, which probably was the Ancienter of the two. For when men came to think that Divine Influences were tied to such *Images*, it was very natural for them to fancy, that a more Soverain Degree of Influence was in the *Sun*, and by consequence that he deserved Divine Adoration much more than their poor little *Teraphim*. But it is also clear, that this Adoration, which they offer to the *Sun*, was not with Relation to the matter of that shining Body, but to the Divinity which they believed was lodged in it. This appears not only from the *Greek* writters, *Zenophon* and *Plutarch*, but from the greatest Antiquity that now is in the VVorld; the *Bas reliefs* that are in the ruins of the Temple of *Persepolis*, which are described with so much cost and care, by that Worthy and Learned Gentleman, Sir *John Chardin*, and which the World expects so greedily from him; He favoured me with a sight of them, and in these it appears, that in their Triumphs, of which a whole Series remains entire, they carried not only the *Fire*, which was the Emblem of the Body of the *Sun*, but after that the Emblem of the *Divinity* that it seems they thought was in it, under the Representation of a *Head environed with Clouds*, which is the most natural Emblem that we can fancy of an Intelligent, and an Incomprehensible Being. It is true, as *Idolatry* grows still grosser and grosser, the Intelligent Being was at last forgot, tho it seems it was remembred by their Philosophers, since the *Greeks* came to know it, and all their Worship was paid to the *Sun*, or to his Emblem the *Fire*; so that even this *Idolatry* was most probably the Worship of the true God at first, under a visible Representation. And that this was an effect of the former *Idolatry*, is confirmed from what is said by *Moses*, *Deut.* 4. 14, to 19. where he plainly intimates the progress that *Idolatry* would have, if they once came to worship *graven or molten Images*, or make any sort of *Similitude* for the Great God; this would carry them, to *lift up their Eyes to Heaven, and Worship and Serve the Host of them.*

XII. The next shape that *Idolatry* took, was the worshipping some subordinate Spirits, their *Genii*, which were in effect *Angels*,

*gels*, or *departed Men and Women*, and this filled both *Greece* and *Rome*, and was the prevailing *Idolatry* when the *New Testament* was writ. But that all these Nations believed still one *Supream God*, and that they considered these just as the *Roman Church* does now *Angels* and *Saints*, (*mutatis mutandis*) has been made out so invincibly, by the Learned *Dr. Stillingfleet*, that one would rather think that he had over charged his Argument with too much proof, than that it is any way defective. And yet this Worship of those secondary Deities is charged with *Idolatry*, both in the *Acts*, and in the *Epistles*, so often, that it is plain, the Inspired Writers believed, that the giving any degrees of divine worship to a Creature, tho in a subordinate Form, was *Idolatry*; and St. *Paul* gives us a Comprehensive Notion of *Idolatry*, that it was the giving *Divine Service* (the word is *Dulia*) to those that by *nature were not Gods*, *Gal.* 4. 8. and he throws off all *Lords*, as well as all the *Gods* of the *Heathen* as *Idols*, and in opposition to these, reduces the Worship of Christians to the Object of one God the Father, and of one *Lord Jesus Christ*, 1 *Cor.* 8. 5, 6. So that the *Greek* and *Roman Idolatry* being strictly that which is condemned in the *New Testament*, of which we have such a copious Evidence from their writings, it is plain, that even inferior degrees of worship, when offered up to Creatures, tho Angels, is *Idolatry*; and tho the *Heathens* thought neither *Jupiter* nor *Mercury* the Supream Deities, yet the *Apostles* did not for all that forebear to call them *Idols*, *Acts* 14. 15.

XIII. Our Author pretends to bear a great respect to Antiquity: And therefore I might in the next place, send him to all that the *Fathers* have writ against the *Greek* and *Roman Idolatry*, in which he will find that the *Heathens* had their *Explainers*, as well as the Church of *Rome* has. They denied they worshipped their *Images*; but said, they made use of them only to raise up their Minds by those visible Objects; yet as St. *Paul* begun the charge against the *Athenians* of Idolatry, *Acts* 17. 29. for their *Gods of gold and silver, wood and stone*; so it was still kept up, and often repeated by the Fathers, tho the Philosophers might have thrown it back upon them, with all that Pomp of dreadful words, which our Author makes use of, against those that fasten the same Charge upon the *Church* of

*Rome.* The ſame might be ſaid with relation to the *Fathers*, accuſing them of *Polytheiſm*, in worſhipping many Gods, and of *Idolatry* in worſhipping thoſe that had been but Men like themſelves. For it is plain, that at leaſt all the Philoſophers and wiſe Men believed, that theſe were only deputed by the Great God, to govern ſome Countrys and Cities; and that they were Mediators and Interceſſors between God and Men. But all this, that appears ſo fully in *Celſus*, *Porphyry*, and many others, did not make the Fathers give over the Charge; Dr. *Stillingfleet* has given ſuch full Proofs of this, that nothing can be made plainer than the matter of Fact is. We know likewiſe, that when the Controverſy aroſe concerning the Godhead of Jeſus Chriſt, *Athanaſius* and the other *Fathers* made uſe of the ſame Argument againſt the *Arrians*, who worſhipped him; that they could not be excuſed from the Sin of *Idolatry*, in worſhipping and invocating him, whom they believed to be only a Creature; which ſhews, that it was the Senſe of the Chriſtians of that Age, that all Acts of Divine Worſhip, and in particular, all Prayers that were offered up to any that was not truly, and by nature *God*, and the *Eternal God*, were ſo many Acts of *Idolatry*. So that upon the whole matter, it is clear, that the Worſhipping the true *God* under a Corporeal Repreſentation, and the worſhipping or Invocating of Creatures, tho in an inferior degree, was taxed by the Apoſtles, and by the Primitive Church, as *Idolatrous*. When they accuſe them for thoſe Corruptions of Divine Worſhip, they did not conſider the ſoftning Excuſes of more refined Men, ſo much as the Acts that were done, which to be ſure do always carry the ſtupid Vulgar to the groſſeſt degrees of *Idolatry*; and therefore every ſtep towards it, is ſo ſeverely forbid by God; ſince upon one Step made in the publick Worſhip, the People are ſure to make a great many more in their Notions of things. Therefore if we ſhould accuſe the Church of *Rome*, for all the Exceſſes of the paſt Ages, or of the more Ignorant *Nations* in the preſent Age, ſuch as *Spain* and *Portugal*, even this might be in ſome degree well grounded; becauſe the publick and authorized *Offices* and *Practices* of that *Church*, has given the riſe to all thoſe Diſorders; and even in this, we ſhould but Copy after the *Fathers*, who always repreſent the *Pagan Idolatry*,

not

not as *Cicero* or *Plutarch* had done it, but according to the groſſeſt notions and practices of the Vulgar.

XIV. All that our Author ſays concerning the *Cherubims*, deſerves not an anſwer; for what uſe ſoever might be made of this, to excuſe the *Lutherans*, for the uſe of *Images*, without worſhipping them (tho after all, the doing ſuch a thing upon a Divine Command, and the doing it without a Command, are two very different things) yet it cannot belong to the worſhip of *Images*, ſince the *Iſraelites* payed no worſhip to the *Cherubims*. They pay'd indeed a Divine worſhip to the *Cloud of Glory*, which was between them, and which is often in the Old Teſtament called *God* himſelf, in all thoſe expreſſions in which he is ſaid to *dwell between the Cherubims*. But this being a miraculous Symbole of the Divine preſence, from which they had anſwers in all extraordinary caſes, it was God himſelf, without any Image or Repreſentation, that was worſhipped in it. As we Chriſtians pay our Adorations to the *Humane Nature* of Chriſt, by vertue of that more ſublime and ineffable indwelling of the *Godhead* in Him: in which caſe it is God only that we worſhip, in the *man Chriſt*. Even as the reſpect that we pay to a man terminates in his *mind*, tho the outward expreſſions of it go to the *body*, to which the mind is united. So in that unconceivable Union between the Divine and Humane Natures in Chriſt, we adore the *Godhead* only, even when we worſhip the *man*.

XV. The General part of this Diſcourſe being thus ſtated, the application of it to the Church of *Rome* will be no hard matter. I will not inſiſt much on the Article of *Image Worſhip*, becauſe it is not comprehended in the *Teſt*, tho our Author dwells longeſt on it, to let us ſee how carefully, but to how little purpoſe he had read Dr. *Spencer*'s Learned Book. But if one conſiders the Ceremonies and Prayers with which *Images*, and particularly *Croſſes*, are to be dedicated by the *Roman Pontifical*, and the formal Adoration of the *Croſs* on *Good-Friday*, and the ſtrange vertues that are not only believed to be in ſome *Images* by the rabble, but that are authorized not only by the Books of Devotion publickly allowed among them, but even by Papal *Bulls* and *Indulgences*, he will be forced to confeſs, that the old notions of the *Teraphim* are clearly revived among them.

them. This could be made out in an infinite Induction of particulars, of which the Reader will find a large account in the Learned Dr. *Brevint*'s Treatise, entitled, *Saul and Samuel at Endor*. But I come now to the two Branches mentioned in the *Test*.

XVI. One is the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, in which if either our *Senses*, that tell us, it is now *Bread and Wine*, or the *New Testament* in which it is called both *Bread* and the *fruit of the Vine*, even after the Consecration, or if the Opinion of the first *seven Centuries*, or if the true principles of *Philosophy*, concurring altogether, are strong enough, we are as certain as it is possible for us to be of any thing, that they are still according to our Authors own phrase, *a senseless piece of matter*. When therefore this has Divine *Adoration* offered to it; when it is called, the *good God*, carried about in solemn Processions, and receives as publick and as humble a Veneration, as could be offered up to the Deity it self, if it appeared visibly: here the highest degree of Divine worship is offered up to a Creature; nor will such worshippers, believing this to be truely the Body of Christ, save the matter, if indeed it is not so. This may no doubt go a great way to save themselves, and to bring their sin into the Class of the sins of Ignorance; but what large thought soever we may have of the mercies of God to their persons, we can have no Indulgence for an act of Divine *Adoration*, which is directed to an Object that we are either sure is *Bread*, or we are sure of nothing else.

XVII. As for the *Invocation and Adoration of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints*, I shall offer only three Classes of Instances to prove it *Idolatrous*. 1. In the *Office* of the *Mass* on many of the *Saints days*, that *Sacrifice*, which is no other than the *Body and Blood of Christ*, according to them, is offered up to the honour of the *Saints*, and they pray to God to accept of it through the Saints Intercession. One would think, it were enough to offer up the *Sacrifices* of prayers and praises to them: but here is a *Sacrifice*, which carries in the plain words of it, the most absurd *Idolatry* that is possible; which is the offering up the *Creator* to the honour of a *Creature*.

2. In the Prayers and Hymns that are in their publick *Offices*, there are Petitions offered up to the Saints, that in the plain sense

ſenſe of the words import their pardoning our ſins, and changing our hearts. The dayly prayer to the *Virgin* goes far this way: *Tu nos ab hoſte protege, & hora mortis ſuſcipe:* Do thou protect us from our Enemy, and receive us in the hour of death. Another goes yet further: *Culpas noſtras ablue, ut peremnis ſedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus ſcandere:* Waſh thou away our ſins, that ſo being redeemed by thee, we may aſcend up to the manſions of glory. That to the *Angels* is of the ſame nature, *Noſtra diluant jam peccata præſtando ſupernam Cæli gloriam:* May they waſh away our ſins, and grant us the heavenly glory. I ſhall to this add two Addreſſes to two of our *Engliſh* Saints; the firſt is to St. *Alban*, *Te nunc petimus Patrone præco ſedule, qui es noſtra vera gloria, ſolve precum votis, ſervorum ſcelera:* We implore thee, our Patron, who art our true Glory, do thou take away the crimes of thy Servants, by thy Prayers. And the other relates to *Thomas Becket*, whom I believe, our Author will not deny to have been as great a Rebel, as either *Coligny*, or his Faction: and yet they pray thus to Chriſt, *Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te effudit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere quo Thomas aſcendit.* Do thou, O Chriſt, make us by the *blood of Thomas, which he ſhed for thee*, to aſcend up whither he has aſcended: And the Hymn upon him, is that Verſe of the Eighth Pſalm, *Thou haſt crowned him with Glory and Honour, and has ſet him over all the works of thy hands.* One would think, it were no bold thing to pronounce all this, and innumerable more Inſtances, which might be brought to the ſame purpoſe, to be *Idolatrous.* If we are ſent by our Author to the ſenſes that may be put on theſe words, I ſhall only ſay with relation to that, that the *Teſt* condemns the Devotions *as they are uſed in the Roman Church:* ſo this belongs to the plain ſenſe of the words; and if it is confeſſed that theſe are *Idolatrous*, as aſcribing to Creatures the right of pardoning ſin, and of opening the Kingdom of Heaven, which are main parts of the Divine Glory, then the matter of the *Teſt* is juſtified.

A Third ſort of Inſtance is in the Prayer that comes after the Prieſt has pronounced the words of Abſolution, *Paſſio Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, merita B. Mariæ Virginis, & omnium Sanctorum, & quicquid boni feceris, vel mali ſuſtinueris, ſint tibi in remiſſionem peccatorum, augmentum gratiæ, & premium vitæ eternæ:*

May

May the Paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Merits of the B. Virgin, and all the Saints, and all the good thou haſt done, or the evil that thou haſt ſuffered, be to thee effectual, for the remiſſion of thy ſins, the encreaſe of grace, and the reward of Eternal life. *Abſolution* in its true and unſophiſticated meaning, being the declaration made to a Penitent of the Mercies of God in Chriſt, according to the Goſpel, I would gladly know, what milder cenſure is due to the mixing the merits of the *Virgin* and the *Saints*, with the Paſſion of *Chriſt*, in order to the obtaining this Goſpel Pardon, with all the effects of it, than this of our *Teſt*, that it is *Idolatrous*.

I have now examined the two points, in which our Author thought fit to make an *Apology* for the Church of *Rome*, without deſcending to the particulars of his *Plea* more minutely. I have uſed him in this more gently than he deſerves; for as I examined his *Reaſonings*, I found all along both ſo much Ignorance, and ſuch groſs diſingenuity, that I had ſome difficulty to reſtrain my ſelf from flying out on many occaſions: But I reſolved to purſue theſe two points, with the gravity of ſtile which the matter required, without entangling the diſcourſe with ſuch unpleaſant digreſſions, as the diſcovery of his *Errors* might have led me to. And I thought it enough to free unwary Readers from the miſtakes into which his Book might lead them, without encreaſing the contempt belonging to the Writer, who has now enough upon him; but I pray God grant him Repentance and a better mind.

*FINIS.*

BOOKS lately Publiſhed by Dr. *BURNET*, and Printed for *John Starkey* and *Ric. Chiſwell*.

REflections on a Paper, intituled, *His Majeſties Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from* Rocheſter.

An Enquiry into the Preſent State of Affairs; and in particular, whether We owe Allegiance to the King in thoſe Circumſtances? And whether we are bound to Treat with him, and Call him back again or not?

A Sermon Preached in St. *James's* Chappel, before the Prince of *Orange*, *Decemb.* 23. 1688.

A Sermon Preached before the Houſe of Commons, *January* 31. 1688. being a Thankſgiving-day, for a Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power.

A Letter to Mr. *Thevenot*, containing a Cenſure of Mr. *Le Grand*'s Hiſtory of King *Henry* the Eighth's Divorce. To which is added, A Cenſure of Mr. *de Meaux*'s Hiſtory of the Variations of the Proteſtant Churches. Together with ſome further Reflections on Mr. *Le Grand*.

26099